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Οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ ᾠδεῖα οὐδὲ στοαὶ οὐδὲ ὁ τῶν ἀψύχων κόσμος αἱ πόλεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρες αὐτοῖς εἰδότες θαρρεῖν.

AILIOS ARISTEIDES (129-189 A.D.).

NEITHER WALLS, THEATRES, PORCHES, NOR SENSELESS EQUIPAGE, MAKE STATES, BUT MEN WHO ARE ABLE TO RELY UPON THEMSELVES.

TRANS. BY ARTHUR WILLIAMS AUSTINS.

JAMES LAWRENCE

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CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE

From an engraving by Leney from Stuart's portrait, in possession of W. C. Crane, Esq.

James Lawrence

Captain, United States Navy

Commander of the "Chesapeake"

BY

ALBERT GLEAVES

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER, U. S. N.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GEORGE DEWEY

ADMIRAL OF THE NAVY

ILLUSTRATED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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1904

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ALBERT GLEAVES

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

A GALLANT YOUNG SEA-OFFICER,

ENSIGN JOSEPH CABELL BRECKINRIDGE,
U. S. NAVY,

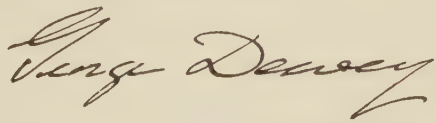
MY FRIEND AND SHIPMATE,

Who lost his life while serving on board the United States Torpedo Boat "Cushing," off Havana, Cuba, February 11, 1898.

INTRODUCTION

We all know too little of the dauntless sea-fighters of our early days, and should be grateful to the clear-sighted and painstaking devotion Lieutenant Commander Gleaves shows in his admirable work on "Lawrence" and the other heroic men of our War of 1812.

It is by the close and careful weighing of the causes which produced the wonderful results of our sea-battles of the past that we equip ourselves for the warfare of the future. And out of the accounts of all great battles, by sea or land, we seize as watchwords the phrases of the commanders. There is none more potent than Lawrence's adjuration, "Don't give up the ship."



Admiral of the Navy.

Washington, October 8, 1903.

PREFACE

It is a curious fact that although the name of Lawrence is more familiar than those of the other brilliant sea-fighters of the War of 1812, there is less known of him personally than any of his contemporaries, except, of course, his immortal order, "Don't give up the ship." Since the brief biographical sketches of him by Niles and Washington Irving, which were published a few years after his death, almost nothing has been written of him.

And yet the place in history of Captain James Lawrence is unique to a degree. He stands alone, in the annals of our wars at least, as the one man who, like Van Tromp, won his greatest fame in defeat. His star reached the meridian of its glory when the enemy's flag replaced his own at the peak of the "Chesapeake"; and that, too, when a defeat on the sea was the severest blow that could be struck at the pride of the American people, who by reason of the unbroken successes of their little navy, had come to be almost as vain-glorious as their enemy. It speaks volumes for the deep love that his countrymen bore for Lawrence that it remained unchanged, although his disaster of losing a ship meant a heart-breaking reduction of one-fourth of the frigate strength of the available sea force, which was at best absurdly inadequate for the work demanded of it.

In the hope of throwing some light on the career of

this officer, and of correcting the almost universal but erroneous opinion that the "Chesapeake" was lost by reckless and unwarranted over-confidence and bad judgment, this work has been written.

In collecting the material I have drawn freely from every available source, but not, I hope, without giving due credit to all authorities.

My thanks for assistance in this work are due to many friends, but especially to Miss Chrystie, of Windsor Hill, New York; Mrs. Howard E. Packer, of Burlington, New Jersey; Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce, U. S. Navy; W. K. Post, Esq., of New York; William Ropes Trask, Esq., of Boston; R. T. Frazier, Esq., Washington, D. C.; James Lawrence Kearney, Esq., of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and C. W. Stewart, Esq., Librarian to the Navy Department.

To W. C. Crane, Esq., of New York, and to Clinton Scollard, Esq., of Clinton, New York, I am indebted for many courtesies.

To Professor E. K. Rawson, U. S. N., I am grateful for much valuable advice and assistance; without his kindly encouragement this story of Lawrence would not have been.

A. G.

United States Cruiser "Mayflower," 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND ANCESTRY—EARLY YEARS—FIRST SERVICES.

A REMARKABLE feature of the War of 1812 was the number of distinguished naval officers it produced. At the outbreak of the war there were only a few men in the navy of command rank who were conspicuous in their profession, notably Hull, William Bainbridge, Rodgers, and Stephen Decatur, the last named the youngest and most brilliant of them all. The older generation of officers, those who had served with distinction in the Continental navy, had either passed away, or, by reason of advanced years, had been relegated to comfortable shore duties and were no longer considered eligible for service afloat.

Nicholas Biddle, Paul Jones, Gustavus Connyngham, Barry and Samuel Nicholson, the first officer who ever gave an order on the deck of the "Constitution," famous in the Revolution, and in the war with France, were all dead. So also was rugged old Preble, the hero of the Tripolitan War. The impetuous Truxtun, the captor of "L'Insurgente," and the intrepid but deliberate Dale, had both resigned from the navy several years before, and at the time when the United States found herself for the second time at war with the mother country, they were living

in retirement in Philadelphia, discontented, unhappy and disappointed men.*

The officers that were to command the ships in the coming war, were young but already distinguished, and the names of many of them had been household words ever since the destruction of the "Philadelphia" and the tragic explosion of the "Intrepid." As midshipmen in the Mediterranean, MacDonough, Perry, Morris, James Biddle, Lawrence, and many others had won much distinction in desperate cutting-out expeditions, and hand-to-hand fights with the Moors of northern Africa. Now, having reached command rank although less than thirty years of age, they were to attain the maturity of their fame and glory in the three years' war that President Madison's Congress declared against Great Britain in the summer of 1812. It was their fortune to add wondrously to the laurels already gathered by the American Navy, and by their exploits to establish the fact that the United States was a power never again to be ignored when the cabinet councils of Europe discussed the affairs of the western world.

The first ancestor of James Lawrence of whom any ac-

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* Truxtun's resignation from the navy was due to a curious mistake. When he was appointed to command the squadron operating against Tripoli, he requested the Department to order a captain to his flagship, it being the custom at that time for the commodore commanding the squadron to command his own ship as well as the others. The Department declined to grant the request, and thereupon Truxtun sent in his resignation from the command of the squadron. The Navy Department considered that he meant to resign his commission in the navy, and in that spirit accepted his letter and Truxtun much to his surprise found himself out of the service. He was too proud to ask for a reconsideration, and the error was never corrected.

count exists was a Sir Robert Lawrence, of Ashton Hall, Lancaster, England. He was a companion in arms of King Richard I., in the invasion of Palestine at the end of the Twelfth Century, and as reward for his services in that famous expedition, at Acre, at Arsuf, and at Jaffa, he received from the Lion Hearted his knighthood and a coat-of-arms. The latter is still preserved, impressed on the seal attached to the will of William Lawrence in 1680, and also to that of Richard Lawrence in 1711, and may be found in the Surrogate's office, New York City.

Coming down to more modern times we find that the immediate ancestor of the New Jersey branch of the family was William Lawrence, who is supposed to have moved from Newtown, Long Island, to Middletown, New Jersey, and who died in 1703. He was the son of Thomas Lawrence, of Newtown, and the great great grandfather of James. He was twice married. His first wife is said to have been Hannah Townsend, but the evidence of this is slight. His second wife was Elizabeth Scudder, of Newtown, Long Island.

There was also another William Lawrence, of Flushing, Long Island, who was born in 1622, who came to the Colonies in the ship "Planter" in 1635, and who died about 1680. This William was a brother of Major Thomas Lawrence, of Newtown, and an uncle of William, of Newtown and Middletown, with whom he has sometimes been confused. James Lawrence, being descended from the progenitor of the Newtown family, was thus related only collaterally to the founder of the Flushing branch.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Scudder, William Lawrence, of Middletown, had seven children. The fourth child, Elisha, born in 1666, began business as a merchant near the end of the century at Cheesquakes (now Morgan's Railroad Station) on the south side of Raritan

Bay. He married Lucy Stout in 1691, and their son Elisha (3rd) was the father of Judge John Brown Lawrence, of Burlington, the father of James.

John Brown Lawrence, like many of his forbears, was twice married; his first wife was Ann, daughter of Samuel Leonard, Esqr., of Perth Amboy, by whom he had one child, Elizabeth. His second wife was Martha Tallman, of Trenton. By his second wife he had seven children, five girls and two boys, of whom James was the youngest.

James Lawrence was born in Burlington, New Jersey, on the first day of October, 1781, in a house which is still standing at the corner of Main and Library streets, and is next to the former residence of James Fenimore Cooper. In the register of the old parish Church of St. Mary's, at Burlington, there is this quaint entry:

"1781, Baptized by the Rev. Mr. Frazer, Nov. 14, James, of John and Martha Lawrence."

Very little is known of Lawrence's early years, but it is said that when an infant in arms the house in which his parents were living was repeatedly struck by shot from the English ships in the river, an interesting circumstance when considered in connection with his career and his death.

His father, who was a staunch Loyalist, was a member of the Council, a lawyer of distinguished reputation, and was considered by his townspeople a man of great importance. When the Hessians were marching on the town in 1775, he was mayor, and at the head of a deputation of citizens, he rode out on the old York Road to meet the enemy, and to beg them to spare the place and its inhabitants. The Hessian officers accompanied him back

THE BIRTHPLACE OF LAWRENCE IN BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

The house on the right was the Lawrence home. In the one next door James Fenimore Cooper was born.

to Burlington and were entertained at the Lawrence mansion, and when, later on the same day, an American man-of-war at anchor in Delaware River, seeing the red coats of the enemy in the streets, and thinking that the British were in possession of the place, began firing on the town, it was Colonel Lawrence who, unattended, went down to the wharves where, although he was exposed to the fire, he remained until he succeeded in communicating with the vessel and stopped the firing.*

Colonel Lawrence, as a loyal subject of King George, was not inclined to take any part in the Revolution, but, as always happens in times of great political excitement, neutrals are regarded as objects of suspicion, so Lawrence was suspected by the Whigs from the first because of his official relations to the Crown. He was finally arrested and for a long time was imprisoned in Burlington jail. He was accused of treasonable intercourse with the enemy, but after a long delay was tried and acquitted.

During his imprisonment he became intimate with a Lieutenant Colonel John G. Simcoe, Commander of the Queen's Rangers, who was also a prisoner. A strong friendship was developed between the two men, and when the latter was exchanged he said to Lawrence at parting, "I shall never forget your kindness." He did not, and when afterward he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Canada, he invited Colonel Lawrence to settle there. The invitation was favored by the Governor and Colonel Lawrence accepted it. He lived in Canada until his death in 1796, and during his residence he acquired a large tract of Crown land. After his death the land was forfeited in consequence of failure to comply with some

* Battles around Princeton and Trenton—Stryker.

conditions of the grant or the non-payment of dues. Many years afterward Mary Lawrence, the daughter of Captain James Lawrence, of the "Chesapeake" and the grand-daughter of the Loyalist, claimed the restoration of this tract. The case was carried in Council before William the Fourth, the Sailor King. The monarch asked the claimant's name and the facts. On being told the circumstances of the case, he said:

"She is the daughter of a brave sailor, let her take it."*

It is to be regretted that so little is known of the early life of James. The informal records that have been preserved are to a degree fragmentary and inconclusive. It is fair to assume, however, that the superb fighting qualities that James Lawrence developed in his maturity, were an inheritance from his English ancestors, for whatever virtues may be affirmed or denied in our kin across the sea, those of the seaman can never be questioned. They have ever been thorough navigators and fighters, and Americans owe the successes of their own navy to the continuation of those sea traits that have come down to them in direct descent from the blood of those self-willed and adventurous old Vikings who fought under Sir Richard Grenville and Blake, and who swept the Channel from the Start to Ushant with the fragments of the Invincible Armada.

James's mother died when he was still an infant, and he was left to the care of his sisters, to whom he seems to have been greatly attached, especially to his half-sister Elizabeth, and it is doubtless to their influence Lawrence owed the gentleness of his disposition, which was one of his distinguishing characteristics.

Elizabeth Lawrence married Michael Kearney, an Irish

* The Loyalists of the Revolution—Sabine.

gentleman of great social prominence. Their son, Lawrence Kearney, died a Commodore in 1868.

There is an interesting sketch of Mrs. Kearney in a recent book.* The writer says: "Mrs. Michael Kearney (Elizabeth Lawrence) was better known to Perth Amboy and the literary world as Madam Scribblerus. She sometimes signed herself 'Pinderina,' in the romantic fashion of the period, when writing to the press or to her intimate friends, who included the most prominent people of culture in the young republic. This interesting figure, whose little rush-light of renown long ago flickered out, was a daughter of Judge Lawrence, of Burlington, and a half-sister of Captain James Lawrence, of 'Don't give up the Ship' fame, for whom she seems to have entertained an ardent affection, notwithstanding about fifteen years disparity in their ages. There in the rooms of her cottage, which look so small from the outside, but seem to widen mysteriously when one enters, she tells us in one of her famous scribbles that she taught this future hero the love of poetry. It is inferior to many of her verses, yet from its interest should be preserved. It reads:

'My brave, brave Jim's a sailor Jack
Upon the treacherous sea—
A sailor who loves poetry
All taught to him by me.'

It is to be hoped that young Lawrence was pleased with this poetic teaching when visiting his sister. During her girlhood she had spent several winters in Philadelphia, and in the first years of her marriage she made two or three journeys there to visit old friends. Among her intimates were Peggy Chew, a noted Quaker City belle, who

* Historic Homes of New Jersey—W. Jay Mills. Lippincott.

had replaced Honora Sneyd in Major Andre's affections; the famous Shippen sisters, and 'the dazzling Mrs. Bingham.' Poor Madam Scribblerus! we can picture her to ourselves working away with her goose-quill pen in the little Amboy cottage, far into the night, with only a primitive candle to light her labors. Many and many a tired reveller, leaving those famous Brighton House balls in their heyday at the old Franklin Palace long before 1812 brought gloom and war, must have stopped before the light casting its glow from her chamber window, and been cheered by the thought that some one was awake as he faced the darkness of old Amboy lanes and alleys. Little of Elizabeth Kearney's work ever saw the light of the press, and it is sad to think much that would have interested posterity should have been lost when the original manuscript was destroyed. Perhaps among all her work extant nothing has more charm than those four little verses on her half-brother, Captain James Lawrence, whom she did not live to see famous and a fit subject for her prolific pen."

Of Lawrence's own sisters, the eldest, Sarah, married James Goellette; Katherine married Jackson Brown French; Anne married John Parker; and Mary, his youngest sister, married Robert Boggs. Their son, Charles S. Boggs, entered the navy as a midshipman in 1826, served with distinction in the Mexican and Civil Wars, and died a rear-admiral in 1888.

When Lawrence was about twelve years old he began to show a decided preference for the navy, which, however, was not encouraged as his father intended him to study law, and he was entered at the Grammar School in Burlington with that object in view. In 1794 he went to Woodbury, and lived there until the death of his father in

Canada, two years later, when he returned to Burlington and finally decided to prepare for a naval career.*

He began a theoretical course in navigation under a Mr. Griscomb. As he remained with this gentleman only three months, he scarcely could have acquired even an elementary knowledge of the subject, but in those days, when chronometers were unknown in the navy, and sextants were rare, the little that he did learn doubtless proved of great value to him when he went on board ship, for the majority of the lieutenants of that day could not find the ship's position by dead reckoning, or keep an ordinary journal.†

Navigation then was by no means the science that it is to-day. Latitude was determined either by a quadrant, or by an instrument called a cross-staff; longitude was determined only by dead reckoning, and not by astronomical observation, for the chronometer, which was invented in 1735, was not generally introduced in the service until a much later date. It must be remembered too, that the charts were grossly inaccurate (when indeed there were any at all), that coasts were generally unlighted, that the laws of storms were unknown and ocean currents undiscovered. The seamen of those and preceding days depended altogether upon the "blue pigeon," as sailors called the lead, and specimens of the bottom, which, we are told in "Captains Courageous," Gloucester fishermen called "samples."

The wonder then is not that so many ships put to sea never to be heard from again, but that any of them escaped the Port of Missing Ships.

There is something more than mere sentiment in the phrase "by God's permission," which, in the model log-

* Analectic Magazine, August, 1813.

† Autobiography of Charles Morris.

book of that day, followed the caption, "A Journal of a Voyage." It was probably the crude sailing of our forefathers that gave rise to the expression "By grace and by God" used now sometimes in a jocular sense to describe haphazard navigation. And so it happens that in an old book on the "Art of Navigation," published in London before the Revolution, the author impressively writes:

"The keeping of a good Reckoning a Journal, is not only the Mariner's Reputation, but (under God) the Preservation of a Ship and all in it; the Ignorance thereof has been (if not only, I may say) the Chief Cause of losing divers rich ships, and many dear and valuable lives, and thence the Impoverishing of several Families. Then certainly it should be their great Concern to be expert herein, who take upon them the Navigating Ships to remote places, when so great a Trust as Men's Lives, and Estates are reposed in them, that so by a knowledge of, and a constant careful practice in keeping an exact Journal, they may not only bear the name of Navigators, but thereby prove themselves deservedly worthy of the title of Compleat Artists."

That the officers of the American navy were not reputed "Compleat Artists" is shown by the fact that as late as 1805, Turreau, the French Minister at Washington, wrote to Talleyrand: "The Americans are to-day the boldest and most ignorant Navigators in the Universe."*

Lawrence entered the navy on the 4th of September, 1798, when he was not yet seventeen years of age. It was a propitious time to begin a fighting career. The

* History of the United States—Adams.

excitement produced by the X. Y. Z.* letters was at its height; it was the year which saw the popular uprising against France, the mounting of the black cockade against her, the summons to Washington to come forth from his retirement to lead the armies of America against the enemy.†

A wildfire of patriotism was running through the country, and even in Laodicean New England, private subscriptions were made for building ships. At Boston the subscription ran up to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars in a few weeks, and the keels of two frigates were speedily laid.

The office of Secretary of the Navy had been established only a short time before, but the naval force itself was insignificant, consisting of six frigates, twelve sloops, and six small vessels of various kinds, together with a marine corps of nine hundred officers and men. It was divided into four squadrons and was kept cruising in the West Indies. Barry and Truxtun commanded the two windward divisions, and Captain Thomas Tingey was

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* X. Y. Z. were emissaries from Talleyrand and the Directory to the American commission that had been sent to Paris by President Adams to negotiate a treaty between the United States and France. The story is a long one, but in brief, X. Y. Z. attempted to induce the commissioners to give the Directory $50,000 as a "douceur," threatening war if the request was not complied with. As the envoys had no such power, the matter, after dragging on for several months, was finally dropped and the commission returned home. The real names of the emissaries were, of course, given in the envoy's despatches, but Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State, withheld them and used instead the letters X. Y. Z. The publication of the despatches caused the wildest excitement in the United States, and the Federalists, who were eager to settle old scores with France, were filled with exultation.—McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. 2, Chap. X.

† Patrick Henry—Tyler.

the senior officer in the Mona Passage, flying his pennant on the frigate "Ganges." It was to this ship that Midshipman Lawrence was ordered immediately after his appointment.

The "Ganges" had the distinction of being the first man-of-war to get to sea under the new organization of the navy, or after the United States began its existence under the Constitution. She was a converted East Indiaman and was one of a number of vessels that the Government had purchased previous to the commencement of hostilities with France. Retaining her old name she was armed and equipped as a 24-gun ship and was first commanded by the celebrated Richard Dale, who sailed in her on the 22nd of May, 1797, a date to be remembered as the day the first vessel of the United States Navy put to sea.*

The vessels were engaged for the most part in cutting out small vessels, picaroons and barges, and recapturing American prizes, but no ship engagements fell to the share of the Leeward Squadron.

Lawrence was fortunate in having his first impressions of the service and his own ideas of duty formed under such a capable commander as Tingey. Although he never had the opportunity to gain the distinction that was won by some of his more fortunate contemporaries, Tingey was an officer of marked ability and great patriotism.

Like all blockading service it was arduous and thankless. There was an abundance of hard and trying work, and a dearth of excitement and glory. The service was made all the more difficult because those participating in it were denied any part in the splendid victories of Trux-

* Naval History—Cooper.

FROM A PORTRAIT AT THE U. S. NAVAL ACADEMY SAID TO BE OF CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE

tun, or the brilliant exploits which so distinguished the little "Enterprise," both operating in almost the same waters. Lawrence no doubt keenly felt his ill-luck in having so little active share in the war, but his time and chance were yet to come.

During this cruise Lawrence received what is commonly called his "baptism of fire," and he caught his first inspirations of war in the unimportant captures of the small French vessels "Le Vainqueur," "La Rabateuse," "L'Eugene," and "L'Esperance." The "Vainqueur" carried six guns and eighty-five men, and "L'Esperance," eight guns and twenty-eight men.

One day the "Ganges" was boarded off the Mole St. Nicholas by an English man-of-war, who demanded all the Englishmen who were on board, and requested permission to examine the protection of the American seamen. In reply Captain Tingey cleared his ship for action, and sent the following message to the British Captain:

"A public ship carries no protection to her men but her flag. I do not expect to succeed in the contest with you, but I will die at my quarters before a man shall be taken from my ship.*

It was this indomitable spirit that animated the Captains of the infant navy, which in the succeeding war with Tripoli, and later with England, set the seal of strength and power upon American arms afloat.

Upon the completion of his cruise on board the "Ganges" Lawrence was promoted to Acting Lieutenant, and transferred to the "Adams," Captain Thomas Robinson. He served on board that ship in the West Indies until peace was restored by the Treaty of Morfontaine which Joseph Bonaparte signed on September 1, 1801.

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* Encyclopedia of American Biography—Appleton.

Soon after this event Congress reduced the navy to a peace footing. This was done in deference to the fatal policy of President Jefferson, who looked upon the army and navy as a useless and dangerous expense, and directly opposed the policy of Washington and Adams who had labored to place the sea establishment on a plane adequate not only to the defence of the coast, but to command the respect of the European powers.

It was President Jefferson's idea to construct a large dry-dock at the Washington Navy Yard, and to house the seven frigates of the navy there, leaving the ordinary duties of peace to be performed by gun-boats. Not only were the ships in service recalled home and sold, but even the frames of six ships of the line authorized by the Act of September 5, 1795, were cut up to make gun-boats. It was argued that in case of war it would be a good policy to abandon the harbors and sea coast, and retire into the interior; that it would be better to give up commerce altogether than protect it with a navy.

With all his prejudices against the navy it was one of Jefferson's favorite projects that the jurisdiction of the United States should extend to the Gulf Stream, and that "within the limit of deep sea soundings," by which he probably meant the hundred fathom curve, no hostile act could be committed by a foreign cruiser without giving offense to the United States.*

Before Jefferson's second term came to an end the relations of the United States with England and France forced him to change his sentiments regarding the navy, and in May, 1806, just a year before the "Chesapeake" and "Leopard" affair, he wrote to Jacob Crowninshield, a member of Congress from Massachusetts:

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* History of the United States—Adams.

"The building of some ships of the line, instead of our most indifferent frigates, is not to be lost sight of. That we should have a squadron properly composed to prevent the blockading of our ports is indispensable. The Atlantic frontier, from numbers, wealth, and exposure to potent enemies, has a proportionate right to be defended with the western frontier, for whom we keep up three thousand men. Bringing forward the measure, therefore, in a moderate form, placing it on the ground of comparative right, our nation, which is a just one, will come into it, notwithstanding the repugnance of some on the subject when first presented."*

These propositions and these inconsistencies, in themselves startling, are really not so when everything is considered. In the days of Mr. Jefferson and his colleagues, the navy was a favorite target for a certain class of politicians whose motto seemed to be, "When in doubt attack the navy." It was a safe thing to do, because the navy had no patronage; and, furthermore, it could not retaliate; two powerful reasons for abusing it either collectively or individually, when it was desired to make a vociferous impression on the public.

With the adherents of the party in power the navy was extremely unpopular, more perhaps because it was the creation of the Federalists, than on account of any definite and matured opinions of their own concerning its value, and this prejudice culminated in March, 1802, when a member from Pennsylvania moved for a committee to consider the question of abolishing it altogether.

The most remarkable feature of this attempt to destroy, or at least to minimize the sea-power of the United States occurred at the very time when it was known that

* History of the United States—Adams.

the Gulf Coast was threatened by Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition, ostensibly intended to operate against San Domingo, but really intended for a descent on New Orleans. On December 30, 1801, Chancellor Livingston wrote to Rufus King:

"I know that the armament destined in the first instance for Hispaniola, is to proceed to Louisiana provided Toussaint makes no opposition."*

Fortunately then as now the navy had friends who vigorously and eloquently defended it. Several years later when the same determined effort was made to break down the appropriations for the navy, Josiah Quincy made a strong argument warning Congress that in the sacrifice of commercial interests, which lay at the bottom of its policy, there was danger not only to the prosperity, but to the permanence of the Union. He begged the House to bear in mind that the ocean could not be abandoned for the land by the people of New England, of whom thousands would rather see a boat-hook than all the sheep crooks in the world.†

"Concerning the land of which the gentleman from Virginia (Randolph), and the one from North Carolina (Macon), think so much," he said, "they (the people of New England) think very little. It is in fact to them only a shelter from the storm, a perch on which they build their eyrie, and keep their mates and their young while they skim the surface or hunt in the deep."‡

The reduction of the material of the navy extended to the personnel; a large number of men were discharged, and the surplus of officers was dismissed. By operation of law, thirteen captains were selected to be retained from

* History of the United States—Adams.
† *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid.*

the twenty-eight then in the service, and among those dropped from the service was Lawrence's old Captain, Robinson; thirty-six lieutenants were accepted from one hundred and ten, and one hundred and fifty-nine midshipmen from three hundred and fifty-five.* The fortunate retention of Lawrence in the service was probably due not more to his individual merit than to what is popularly known as influence, which doubtless even at that early day was an important factor in a naval officer's career. At all events, the following letter, signed by an ex-United States senator and a member of the House of Representatives, is still preserved in the archives of the Navy Department:†

"Sir:—We take the Liberty of adding what we can to recommendations heretofore presented in favour of Mr. James Lawrence of New Jersey—he has been a Midshipman for some time past, is at present at Cape Francois, on board the Ship "Adams," Capn Robinson. His Captain has so far distinguished his Merit, as to appoint him third Lieutenant of the Ship. His connexions are respectable, and his patriotism and firmness irreproachable. We have the Honour to be,

Yr Mt Obt Sert,
F'kl'n Davenport,
I. H. Imlay.

Washington, 5th March, 1801.

The same law directed that all vessels except thirteen specifically mentioned in the act, should be disposed of at the discretion of the President, and that six of the vessels to be retained should be constantly employed, but it also provided that the guns and the stores of the vessels sold, should be turned into store and carefully preserved,‡

* Autobiography of Charles Morris.

† Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. 2, No. 36. Navy Dept. MSS. Archives.

‡ Naval History—Cooper.

a false economy as it proved, for the guns were soon superseded by carronades, and when the armament was needed for the new vessels during the Tripolitan war, the old fashioned long guns which had been housed with so much care were not worth much more than scrap metal.

This reduction naturally postponed Lawrence's promotion. The following letter on this subject, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, has just come to light and is interesting for several reasons.

"New York, June 25, 1801.

Sir:—

I received yours of the 18th yesterday. Am sorry it is not consistent with the late regulations to confirm me as Lieutenant, but will with pleasure continue in the Navy as Midshipman, until a vacancy takes place, when I hope from my long services, and my having acted as a Lieutenant for the last five months, I shall not be forgot. Relying on your friendship, I remain your most obedient servant, James Lawrence.

Lawrence was retained in the service as a midshipman until the commencement of the war with Tripoli a few months later when he was restored to his old rank, but he was not commissioned as Lieutenant until the 6th of April, 1802.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAR WITH TRIPOLI.

For three centuries the Barbary Powers of Northern Africa had preyed upon the commerce of Europe in the Mediterranean and in 1785 they began their depredations upon the United States by the capture of two ships near Cape Spartel. After this it was unsafe for any merchantman to enter the Straits without the protection of a man-of-war, unless she had an English passport, the only *cachet* that an Algerine respected. If an American skipper ventured into the Mediterranean alone, he might be sure of speedy capture by an armed xebec unless the margin of his pass, genuine or forged, corresponded with the notches on a stick which the pirate captain carried in the folds of his dress, and by means of which he examined the parchment.*

Loss of vessel and cargo, and imprisonment in filthy dungeons or as slaves followed capture, and demands for ransom and tribute money followed imprisonment.

Strange and incredible as it seems the sovereign nations of Europe had for years bought immunity for their vessels by annual tribute to these pirates and had secured the release of their subjects by enormous ransoms. Naturally the Moor felt that he was superior in affairs maritime, and when the new flag of the United States appeared

* McMaster.

on the sea, he saw in it only another source of his unlawful revenue. So active were his corsairs in attacking it, that in the year 1793 there were one hundred and nine American citizens held in captivity by the Moors, and many American vessels had been captured on the high seas.

The singular Reduction Act, which almost swept the navy out of existence, was passed just two months before the Bashaw of Tripoli cut down the flag-pole of the American Consul, and declared war against his "sincere friend" the President of the United States on the ground that the latter regarded the regency of Tripoli on the same footing of friendship and importance as the Barbary States, and that, moreover, the last year's presents from the United States were not satisfactory.*

The Bey of Tunis was also discontented. He complained that certain planks and oars that had been sent him were too short, and in a letter to the President dated April 15, 1801, he renewed a request that he had already made for forty guns of different calibres, and ten thousand stand of arms. He demanded these articles without delay under penalty of his cruisers making war upon the merchant vessels of the United States.†

It may not be out of place here to repeat an amusing story that was told of an interview between the Bey of Algiers, and an English naval officer who had been sent on a diplomatic mission to Barbary:

"What does your Master mean," exclaimed the venerable potentate, when the clean-shaven officer was admitted to his presence, "by sending a beardless man to treat with me?" The officer gravely replied: "If my

* Naval Chronicle.

† *Ibid.*

Master measured wisdom by the length of a beard, he would have sent you a he-goat."

The Bey of Algiers, not to be outdone by his neighbors, wrote a protest, stating that the tributes due him were in arrears, and demanded a prompt settlement. The treaty with him by which the security of merchantmen was guaranteed against the depredation of his corsairs, had cost the United States one million dollars—the equivalent of more than enough vessels to have laid waste his coasts. Among the items that were pledged to be provided for him were barrels of gunpowder, pine and oak planks, brushes, cables, rope, yarn, canvas, lead, spikes and bomb-shells. When Captain William Bainbridge, in command of the frigate "George Washington," was sent to Algiers in the summer of 1800 with the usual tribute, the Bey ordered him to carry his ambassador with presents to Constantinople, and furthermore to sail under the Algerian flag.

As the "George Washington" was anchored under the guns of the forts, Bainbridge, after consultation with the American consul, O'Brien, suffered himself to comply with the demand, although he lessened the humiliation somewhat by hauling down the Algerian flag as soon as he was clear of the shore batteries. In reporting the affair to the Navy Department he wrote: "I hope I will never again be sent to Algiers with tribute unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouths of cannon."

Congress was at last compelled to take action and in 1794 a resolution to provide a naval force adequate to afford protection against these pirates, was passed, but by a majority of two votes only,* and the subsequent bill which authorized the building of six frigates was

* History of the United States—Adams.

saved from defeat only by the provision that the ships should not be built if peace with Algiers was secured.

This was the beginning of the navy.

Some of the ablest men in Congress opposed the bill on the score of economy, and attempted to justify their action by arguing that as older and more powerful nations bought the friendship of Algiers, the United States should do the same, or subsidize some of the European naval powers to protect its trade—a strange suggestion in view of the fact that many persons believed that one or two European nations had already subsidized the Barbary States to destroy American commerce, as they feared a rival in the Mediterranean. Indeed, Lord Sheffield did not hesitate to declare in Parliament: "That the Barbary States are advantageous to the Maritime Powers is certain."

Four years after the bill to increase the navy had nearly failed in Congress, that is to say in 1798, the frigate "Crescent," commanded by Captain Timothy Newman, was loaded with twenty-six *barrels* of silver dollars, and gifts to the amount of $300,000 were sent to Algiers as a compensation for the delay in fulfilling treaty obligations. "It is worthy of note," says a recent writer, "that the captain and several of the officers and crew of the 'Crescent' had at different times been prisoners at Algiers, while Richard O'Brien, who took passage in the frigate to become Consul General to all the Barbary States, had been held as prisoner at Algiers for ten years.*

Such were the relations of the United States with the Barbary States when Commodore Richard Dale was ordered in May, 1801, to proceed to the Mediterranean with a "squadron of observation" composed of the "Pres-

* The Lucky Little "Enterprise."

ident," "Essex" and "Philadelphia, and the famous little topsail schooner "Enterprise." Dale was ordered to visit Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in succession if he found those countries peaceful, but if not, he was authorized to use force should he be compelled to act on the defensive. When the squadron sailed the Washington Government did not know that Tripoli had already declared war.

Lawrence was still serving on the "Ganges" when Dale's Squadron sailed for Europe. The "Ganges" had been ordered to prepare for a cruise in the East Indies, planned for the protection of American commerce on those distant trade routes, but, after the treaty with France was ratified, the cruise was not deemed expedient, and the orders were revoked. Shortly afterward the "Ganges" was sold.

Dale's appearance in the Mediterranean inspired Tunis and Algiers with so much respect for the flag of the United States, that they left the Bashaw of Tripoli to his fate, and gratefully accepted the presents which their treaties stipulated.

Dale returned to the United States in the latter part of the year in the "President" accompanied by the "Enterprise," and Lawrence was appointed to the latter as her first lieutenant about the beginning of the year 1802, succeeding Lieutenant David Porter who was transferred to the "Philadelphia."

Lawrence's place in history dates from his orders to the "Enterprise," which, at the time he reported for duty on board of her, was commanded by the gallant Andrew Sterritt.* These orders were especially accept-

* Andrew Sterritt entered the navy as a lieutenant in 1798 and resigned in 1805. He was the second officer in the navy to receive recognition by Congress for gallant services. The Act was approved February 3, 1802, and was entitled "A res-

able for the little ship was a source of inspiration in herself. Under the command of Lieutenant Shaw during an eight months' cruise in 1800, the "Enterprise" fought five actions, and captured nineteen vessels, and for her gallant services was the only small cruiser retained in the service after the French war.* Her record was as fine as that of any frigate, and she had added to her laurels in the cruise with Dale, by the capture of a Tripolitan polacre of fourteen guns, the preceding August, off the coast of Malta.

This fight was a running one and lasted three hours, during which time the polacre surrendered three times, and twice reopened fire, and it was not until the Turk understood that the "Enterprise" would sink him that he finally hauled down his colors and threw them into the sea. Lieutenant Porter found when he boarded the prize that out of a crew of eighty-five men she had lost fifty in killed and wounded, while the "Enterprise"† had escaped

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olution expressing the sense of Congress of the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Sterritt, the officers and crew of the United States schooner 'Enterprise.'"

* Statistical History U. S. Navy—Emmons.

† The lucky little "Enterprise," as she was called in the navy, was a topsail schooner of 135 tons built in Baltimore in 1790, at a cost of $16,245. She was armed with twelve six-pounders, and carried a crew of seventy men. Her model was one of the finest of that day, and the vessel had a great reputation for lightness, speed, and handiness.

After the war, in 1809, the "Enterprise" was sent to Europe under the command of Lieutenant Tripp. Returning from that voyage, she was rebuilt and altered to a brig, and cruised on the home station from 1811 to 1814; after the war with England and until 1822, she was again in the West Indies under the command of Lawrence Kearney, a nephew of James Lawrence.

The "Enterprise" had always been remarkably successful in her captures, as has been mentioned. Under Lieutenant Shaw

COMMODORE DAVID PORTER, U. S. N.
From an engraving of the painting by J. Wood

without any casualties to her personnel, and had sustained only trifling damages to her rigging. The affair created great interest in the United States, and Congress rewarded Sterritt with promotion and a sword, and voted a month's pay to each of the crew.

In his first annual message, Jefferson referred to this engagement. "The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that element," he wrote, "will, I think, be a testimony to the world that it is not the want of virtue that makes us seek their peace, but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race,* and not to its destruction."

Shortly after Lawrence relieved Porter, Isaac Hull,†

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during the French war, she had captured eight Frenchmen, and besides these had recaptured eleven American vessels, and whipped a Spanish man-of-war that sought an encounter. Later on, in the war of 1812, after she had been converted into a brig, and her battery had been changed to two long nine-pounders, and fourteen eighteen-pound carronades, while under the command of Lieutenant William Burrows, she fought and captured the English brig "Boxer" off Portland, Maine.

She was finally lost off Little Curacoa in 1823.

* The wits of the day did not fail to seize the opportunity offered by this curious expression.

† Here is an amusing anecdote of Hull:

When Hull was first of the "Adams," young Decatur one night tried to tack ship off Culebrita Point, and missing stays, got her in irons. The ship was close in-shore, with rocks on the weather bow and Diamond Rock on the lee bow. All hands were called, and when Hull took the deck the ship was in great confusion. He had a pair of old striped trousers in one hand, and while he was wearing ship stood on one of the quarter-deck guns and tried to put them on.

He directed the men to go to their stations, and then said to the Captain: "Keep yourself cool, and we shall get the ship off." "Cool!" he said. "I am as cool as a cucumber. Do you see the rocks? Do you see the rocks?" Hull answered that

whose star had scarcely risen above the horizon, succeeded to the command of the "Enterprise," which was then attached as tender to Commodore R. V. Morris's Squadron composed of the "Chesapeake," "Constellation," "New York," "Adams," and "John Adams," then fitting out for the Mediterranean. The squadron sailed for the Straits in February, 1802, and the little "Enterprise," with her usual good luck, was the first to arrive at Gibraltar.

Late in July the "Enterprise" accompanied the flagship "Chesapeake" on a cruise along the north coast of Africa, and arrived off Leghorn in the middle of October.

This cruise is the real beginning of Lawrence's fighting career, as it was the real beginning of the active and aggressive service of the United States Navy. The previous history of the navy under the Constitution with the notable exception of Truxtun's battles, is merely the recital of small boat expeditions and desultory skirmishes. It was now, however, a trying and perilous time for the little squadron in the Mediterranean, thousands of miles from its base, and about to engage in a crusade against Mohammedan arrogance and oppression, which the older nations of Europe had always looked upon with indifference.

Aside from convoying a few merchantmen, the squadron was practically inoperative, the blockade of Tripoli being only partially maintained owing to the heavy weather prevalent off that coast at certain seasons, and

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he did, and could not help it, and something must be done at once. The Captain then said: "You will be on the Diamond, you will be on the Diamond." To which Hull replied: "Damn the Diamond! We can't help it, the ship must be wore." For a long time after the byword of the "Adams" was, "Do you see the rocks? Damn the Diamond!"—(From the Ludlow Papers.)

COMMODORE ISAAC HULL

also to the deep draft of the ships which prevented them from operating close in-shore.

"A slight bickering with the pirates" occurred in May, 1803, and served to break the monotony of the cruise, that must have been very trying even to the sanguine and elastic temperaments of such enthusiastic young officers as Lawrence, Joseph Bainbridge, and MacDonough, the future hero of Lake Champlain, all of whom were together on board the "Enterprise." The conditions of service were hard enough in those days in the larger ships, but they were increased a hundredfold in the smaller vessels—no larger than the modern torpedo boats—which had to keep the sea in all weathers for days and weeks continuously, the officers and crew living in ill-smelling, dimly-lighted quarters and subsisting only on salt food, mouldy and weevily hardtack and a scant supply of impure water from the rusty tanks of the hold.

It is impossible for those who go to sea under modern conditions to realize what life on a fighting ship was even as late as the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Naval hygiene was unknown and, abaft the mast as well as forward of it, conditions of discomfort existed and were accepted as matters of course, that in these days seem almost incredible. It was a question of the survival of the fittest with those who lived through the hardships of such a life.

The "John Adams," commanded by Captain John Rodgers, was blockading the harbor of Tripoli alone when the "New York," "Adams" and "Enterprise" joined her from Malta. As the squadron approached the coast a number of feluccas convoyed by eleven Tripolitan gun-boats were made out near the land standing toward Tripoli. Chase was immediately given, but the feluccas took refuge in old Tripoli, while the gun-

boats succeeded in getting under the guns of the shore batteries. The feluccas were run on the beach and preparations made to defend them by throwing up breastworks, and utilizing for this purpose the sacks of bread taken from the feluccas.

These defences were reinforced by troops from Tripoli. A large number manned the hastily constructed works, and also a large stone building which commanded them.

One night Lieutenant David Porter, the first lieutenant of the "Adams," pulled in alone to reconnoitre, but was discovered and driven off by a heavy musketry fire. This reconnaissance was preliminary to the boat attack which he planned and led the next day.

In this affair Lawrence was the second in command, and John Downes, who afterward was Porter's first lieutenant in the "Essex," was one of the Midshipmen. The expedition was conducted with great daring; the boats pulled boldly in under a heavy fire of small arms and artillery, and succeeded in effecting a landing and driving off the Turks whose numbers greatly exceeded their own. At this point the fighting was so close, that the enemy actually threw sand and gravel in the faces of the seamen in the hope of blinding them. The feluccas were set on fire, and the party then regained the boats, which were again subjected to a heavy fire by the Turks who returned at once to their guns. The boats, however, opened out to allow the ship's batteries to cover their withdrawal, and to complete their work on the beach. The loss of the Turks was not ascertained, but the Americans lost twelve or fifteen killed and wounded; among the latter was Porter, who was shot in both legs. Lawrence particularly distinguished himself in this engagement which was his first real

fight, and was warmly commended by Porter for his dashing courage and skill.*

Leaving Rodgers in command off Tripoli, Morris sailed on the 10th of June, with the "New York" and "Enterprise" for Malta, where he received intelligence which caused him to send the "Enterprise" back to Tripoli with orders to Captain Rodgers to join his flag as soon as possible.

These orders enabled Lawrence to engage in another fight with the Tripolitans. The "Enterprise" increased Rodgers's division off Tripoli to three vessels. On the evening of the 21st of June, suspicious movements in the harbor caused Rodgers to suspect that preparations were being made either to get a vessel to sea, or to receive one, and he accordingly sent the "Adams" to the westward of the harbor, and the "Enterprise" to the eastward while he remained in the offing on board the "John Adams."

Rodgers at this time was about thirty years old. He had distinguished himself as first lieutenant of the "Constellation" in the action with "L'Insurgente," and was one of the leading officers of the navy.

Early the next morning, the "Enterprise" discovered one of the enemy's ships at anchor close in-shore, and at once stood toward the flagship to communicate the intelligence, but it was eight o'clock before her signals were understood by the "John Adams."

Both ships then headed in to reconnoitre and soon recognized the enemy as the largest of the Bashaw's ships,—a vessel mounting twenty-two guns and manned by a large crew. She was anchored with springs on her cables in a deep but narrow bay about twenty miles

* Naval History—Cooper. It is a matter of great regret that this first letter of commendation is not extant.

east of Tripoli. Nine small gun-boats were observed close in-shore hastening to re-enforce her, while a large body of cavalry was patrolling the beach to assist in driving off a boat attack.

The "Enterprise" at once took her position in-shore of the corsair and cleared the beach with her guns, at the same time keeping up a brisk fire on the corsair, but it was nearly nine o'clock when the "Adams" opened fire at three hundred yards range. The corsair replied with spirit, and a brisk cannonading ensued which lasted forty-five minutes, when the enemy ceased firing and her crew began lowering boats and jumping overboard and swimming ashore. Rodgers now held his fire and wore ship to gain more sea room, but in a few minutes, observing that one of the enemy's boats was returning to the ship, he opened again with all his guns, and soon afterward the corsair blew up.*

"The explosion burst the hull to pieces," Rodgers says, in his official report, "and forced the main and mizzen masts one hundred and fifty feet perpendicularly into the air, with all the yards, shrouds and stays belonging to them."

The gun-boats escaped capture by running across the shoals.

In this action the little "Enterprise" greatly distinguished herself, and Hull and Lawrence by their steadiness and gallantry contributed largely to the success of the battle. The corsair was three times more formidable than the "Enterprise," and easily could have destroyed her, but Hull, with that splendid courage and readiness to take risks that later made him

* Naval History—Cooper.

famous, went into the fight prepared if necessary to sacrifice his ship.

After this satisfactory conclusion to his long and tiresome watching on the coast, Rodgers, in obedience to the orders brought to him by the "Enterprise," raised the blockade, and with the "Adams" and "Enterprise" joined the flag at Malta, whence the squadron proceeded to the coast of Italy.

From Leghorn the "Enterprise" was sent back to Malta for despatches, and, as if apprehensive of the orders that he was about to receive, Commodore Morris, too impatient to await the return of Hull, followed him in a few days in the "New York," and upon his arrival at the Valetta found orders from the Navy Department to turn over the command of the squadron to Captain Rodgers, and to return to the United States at once.

This was the end of his service in the navy. When he reached New York, he was somewhat informally tried on charges more or less vague, of failure to carry out his instructions, was summarily dismissed from the service, and here, in the words of Carlyle, he "drops out of the tissue of our history."*

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* The following extract from a letter from Captain Morris to Captain Preble, dated Baltimore, April 8, 1800, is quoted as a matter of contemporary interest, although it has no connection with this sketch. The T. T. is probably Thomas Tingey, who had just been ordered to command the Washington Navy Yard, or it may be Thomas Truxtun, who, two months before had captured "L'Insurgente." At all events the personal records of officers at the beginning of the nineteenth century are so scant, that almost anything that is preserved of what they said or wrote has its own special value.

"I am on my way to Norfolk. The 'Chesapeake' is said to be perfectly ready for sea. I should like to have a long talk

There was not much formality in those days in handling either officers or men. If an officer failed to accomplish what he was directed to do, he was promptly removed and some one else was put in his place. Excuses are always tiresome; in time of war they are altogether inadmissible. At such a time only one thing is required of every man: that is success; and success has been truly said to be the criterion of merit; failure, of incapacity.

When two of the senior officers of the navy had failed to make an impression on Tripoli, they were promptly recalled, and the Navy Department began to search for a man "who had the ability to conceive," and what was of still greater value, "the energy and courage to execute."

Of course, the man was at hand,—he always is, even if the hour is not—and with the selection of Edward Preble as the commander-in-chief, the war immediately took on another and more vigorous phase, which finally resulted in crushing forever the arrogant pretensions of the Moor in the Mediterranean.

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with you. I suspect T. T. has been d——ly taken in, but I hope we shall soon meet at Gibraltar, where we shall have a little chat on occurrences at the Seat of Government."—Preble MSS.

COMMODORE EDWARD PREBLE, U. S. N.
From the painting in Faneuil Hall, Boston

CHAPTER III.

SERVICE UNDER PREBLE—RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES—THE GUN-BOATS.

At the time of his appointment to the command of the Mediterranean squadron, Preble was only forty-two years old. He had led an adventurous life, and had seen much service in various parts of the world, both in the navy and in the merchant marine.

While serving in the Massachusetts state cruiser "Protector," 18-guns, commanded by John Foster Williams, Preble had taken part in a sharp action (July 9, 1780) which lasted an hour, with a heavy British privateer called the "Admiral Duff." The "Duff" was blown up, and only fifty-six of her people were saved. The loss of the "Protector" in killed and wounded was six. He had also been in action with an armed brig, and he had been incarcerated in the notorious prison-ship "Jersey." Later as first lieutenant of the "Winthrop" he had distinguished himself in the cutting-out expedition at Castine.* In the French war, he commanded the "Pickering," and in 1799, when in command of the "Essex" he convoyed a large fleet of merchantmen from the China seas.†

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* The frigate "Constitution"—Hollis.

† Encyclopedia—Appleton.

He was an officer of great ability and resource, but was noted in the service for his violent and irascible temper. Like Lord Ormont, in George Meredith's story, he was all curry and capsicum. The Department made a wise choice when it selected him to do the work which both Dale and Morris had failed to accomplish.

Preble arrived at Gibraltar in the "Constitution" in the latter part of September, 1803. Ten other vessels were sent out at the same time to aid in establishing an effective blockade off Tripoli. The light-draft gun-boats capable of in-shore work were the "Argus," "Siren," "Nautilus" and "Vixen." The two former were brigs of about one hundred and thirty tons carrying sixteen guns each, and crews of two hundred and fifty to three hundred men; the others were schooners of one hundred tons, with twelve guns, manned by one hundred and eighty-five men each. The "Argus" was commanded by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, the "Siren" by Lieutenant Charles Stewart, the "Nautilus" by Lieutenant Richard Somers, and the "Vixen" by Lieutenant Smith—notable names all of them in American naval history. Upon the arrival of the squadron, Hull and Decatur exchanged commands, Hull returning home in the "Argus." This change brought Lawrence and Decatur together on duty for the first time, and as events proved they were soon to be associated together in one of the most brilliant and daring exploits of sea history.

On October 31, 1803, Captain Bainbridge had had the misfortune to lose the "Philadelphia." While chasing one of the enemy's vessels, the ship ran hard and fast on a shoal from which it was impossible to work her off. In this position she was attacked by a number of gun-boats, and after making a gallant defence was compelled to surrender. Bainbridge and his people,

COMMODORE STEPHEN DECATUR, U. S. N.
From an engraving of the painting by T. Sully

three hundred and fifteen in all, were taken ashore and thrown into filthy dungeons, and a few days later the "Philadelphia" was hauled off by the natives and towed to an anchorage under the castle, where the enemy, having recovered the guns, anchors and shot that had been thrown overboard to lighten her, proceeded to refit her and get her ready for service.

About the middle of December, Preble in the "Constitution," accompanied by the "Enterprise" sailed from Syracuse for Tripoli with the intention of beginning definite operations against the Bashaw, but the stormy weather compelled him to abandon this winter campaign, and after making a reconnaissance of the harbor, and noting the position of the "Philadelphia," which he had already determined to destroy, if possible, he squared away for Syracuse, taking with him the "Enterprise" and a small ketch named the "Mastico," which Decatur had captured on the 23rd of December off Tripoli.

Syracuse in the early part of the century was a favorite rendezvous of both the English and American fleets, but it is rarely visited now by any vessels, and has passed into modern history as the port where Nelson watered his ships before the battle of the Nile. It is about 240 miles N.N.E. from Tripoli, and its protected harbor and mild climate rendered it an excellent winter base for a squadron to use in overhauling and refitting.

As soon as Preble arrived at Syracuse, he set about maturing his plans for destroying the "Philadelphia," and to this end he decided to fit out the "Mastico," which had been renamed the "Intrepid," and send her over to Tripoli under convoy for this purpose. It has always been a matter of dispute as to who originated the idea, but it was probably due to Bainbridge, who from his dungeon in the Bashaw's castle occasionally

managed to smuggle letters to Preble written in sympathetic ink.

Preble selected Decatur from a number of volunteers to command the "Intrepid," and Decatur selected Lawrence as his first lieutenant. The whole squadron practically volunteered, not an uncommon occurrence in the navy when any danger is to be confronted. After deciding upon his officers and crew, the work of refitting the ketch and making her habitable for her hazardous cruise, rapidly progressed under the personal direction of the indefatigable Lawrence. At last, on the 3rd of February, 1804, everything being ready, Decatur bade farewell to the Commodore, and sailed for Tripoli accompanied by the "Siren," Lieutenant Charles Stewart, who was afterward famous for his double capture of the "Cyane" and "Levant."

Besides Decatur and Lawrence, the officers of the "Intrepid" were Joseph Bainbridge, Jonathan Thorn, Surgeon Heerman, Midshipmen Thomas McDonough, Izard, Rowe, Laws, Davis, and Charles Morris, later to be heard of in the "Constitution" in the war with England, and Catalino Salvader, a Sicilian pilot. The crew was composed of sixty-two men from the "Enterprise."

Preble's orders, under which Decatur acted, are dated on board the flagship at Syracuse, January 31, 1804, and are as follows:

"Sir:—

"You are hereby ordered to take command of the prize ketch, which I have named the 'Intrepid,' and prepare her with all possible despatch for a cruise of thirty-five days, with a full allowance of water and provisions for seventy-five men.

"I shall send you five midshipmen from the 'Constitution,' and you will take seventy men, including officers from the 'Enterprise,' if that number can be found ready to volunteer their services for boarding and burning the 'Philadelphia,' in the

harbor of Tripoli; if not, report to me, and I will furnish you with men to complete your complement.

"It is expected that you will be ready to sail to-morrow evening, or some hours sooner, if the signal is ready for that purpose.

"It is my order that you proceed to Tripoli, in company with the 'Siren,' Lieutenant Stewart, enter that harbor in the night, board the 'Philadelphia,' burn her and make good your retreat with the 'Intrepid' if possible, unless you can make her the means of destroying the enemy's vessels in the harbor by converting her into a fireship for that purpose and retreating in your boats, and those of the 'Siren.'

"You must take fixed ammunition and apparatus for the frigate's 18-pounders; and if you can, without risking too much, you may endeavor to make them the instruments of destruction to the shipping and Bashaw's Castle. You will provide all the necessary combustibles for burning and destroying ships.

"The destruction of the 'Philadelphia' is an object of great importance, and I rely with confidence on your intrepidity and enterprise to effect it. Lieutenant Stewart will support you with the boats of the 'Siren,' and cover your retreat with that vessel.

"Be sure to set fire in the gun-room berths, cockpit, storerooms forward, and berths on the berth deck.

"After the ship is well on fire, point two of the 18-pounders shotted down the main hatch, and blow her bottom out.

"I enclose you a memorandum of the articles, arms, ammunition, and fireworks necessary, and which you are to take with you.

"Return to this place as soon as possible, and report to me your proceedings.

"On boarding the frigate, it is probable that you may meet with resistance. It will be well, in order to prevent alarm, to carry all by the sword.

"May God prosper you in this enterprise. I have the honor to be, sir, Your obedient servant, EDWARD PREBLE."

It is worthy of notice that in these orders, the Commodore himself orders every detail of the boarding, and this in the most positive terms. The letter is not punctuated with loopholes for escape for himself from depart-

mental censure, should the plan fail, or end disastrously. If successful, the glory he knows will be all Decatur's and his companions, but the responsibility of the whole affair is the Commodore's and his alone, and he does not propose to unload it on his subordinate by any cautionary phrases. This was characteristic of Preble.

Had the weather been fair, the run from Syracuse could have been made easily under sail in twenty-four hours, but bad weather was encountered, such as is common to the Mediterranean at that season, and it was not until the evening of the third day, that Stewart and his convoy arrived off Tripoli, and the conditions then were not favorable for making the attack at once.

What discomforts this band of heroes endured may be better imagined than described. The ketch* was only about seventy tons burden, or about twice the size of a modern steam launch. She was extremely uncomfortable, and when crowded with seventy-five men, was scarcely habitable even under the most favorable circumstances.

After dark the pilot and Midshipman Morris went in to reconnoitre, but found that the sea was breaking too heavily on the bar to get through. In the meantime it had come on to blow hard, and the two little vessels had to stand out to sea again. The gale that followed was of unusual severity and lasted a week, during which time those on board the "Intrepid" had a rough experience. Finally, however, the gale broke, and both

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* The "Intrepid" had originally been captured from the French by the English at the battle of the Nile, and was given by them to the Bashaw of Tripoli. At the time she was captured by Decatur, she was armed with four small guns and was carrying a cargo of female slaves, which the old Bashaw was sending as a present to the Sultan.

vessels headed up for Tripoli, the "Intrepid" in the lead; she arrived off the bar early in the evening of February 16th, and without waiting for the "Siren" to support him, Decatur sailed boldly into the harbor determined to make the attack as soon as it should be dark enough. The fitful breeze, which was dying out, was strong enough to give the "Intrepid" too much headway, so that her speed was reduced by means of drags, but long before she approached close enough to the "Philadelphia," the wind had died out altogether.

Night came on as the little craft made her way into the harbor, and the ship's bell on the "Philadelphia" was striking five (10:30) when her sentry challenged the "Intrepid." Only Decatur and the pilot and two or three seamen, all disguised as Sicilians, were in sight above the rail. The rest of the officers and crew were crouched down on deck, sword in hand, and out of sight. When the "Intrepid" was hailed, Salvader replied that they were traders and had lost their anchors, and begged permission to hang on by a line to the "Philadelphia" until morning. This was readily granted, and the "Intrepid" at once lowered a boat, and with Lawrence in charge, ran a line to the "Philadelphia's" bows where it was made fast to her cables; at the same time the "Philadelphia" sent a boat to run a stern line to the "Intrepid."

Had the Tripolitan boat got alongside, the character of the "Intrepid" would have been discovered at once, but Midshipman Anderson, who was a volunteer from the "Siren," and who had come on board the ketch with eight men after the expedition arrived off Tripoli, seeing the danger, immediately dropped another boat from the ketch and pulled out to meet the "Philadelphia's" boat, from which he took the line and returned to the "Intrepid." The

ketch now lay becalmed under the "Philadelphia's" guns, but the ends of the lines from the bow and stern of the "Philadelphia" were run on board, and the men, without rising from the deck, rapidly and quietly warped her alongside the "Philadelphia."

As she drew near enough, the Tripolitans saw her anchors, and their suspicions having already been aroused by the appearance of the "Siren" dimly visible off the harbor, they ordered the lines to be cut. But it was too late. At the same time some of the "Philadelphia's" men made out the deck of the ketch crowded with men. It suddenly dawned on them who these visitors were, and the alarm was instantly given. Decatur, seeing that further disguise was unnecessary, cried out, "Away boarders," and immediately there was a wild scramble from the ketch up the lofty sides of the "Philadelphia" to her spar deck. Decatur led, followed closely by Lawrence and the others, but he tripped over his sword-scabbard, and this gave Midshipman Charles Morris the honor of being the first on board.

The surprise was complete, and the decks were soon cleared, the enemy either running below, or jumping overboard. Each officer had been assigned to a particular part of the ship to distribute combustibles, and Lawrence's station was in the ward room, with a party of ten men.

After the Americans had boarded, in hurrying to their previously assigned stations on the "Philadelphia," several hand-to-hand conflicts took place with the Tripolitan sailors, and although a number of the latter were killed, the Americans escaped without a single casualty—a remarkable fact when it is remembered what confusion prevailed on the decks, and the difficulty of distinguishing friend from foe in the darkness.

In less than twenty minutes the ship had been car-

ried, the combustibles distributed and set on fire, and all the Americans were again on board the ketch.

The noise of the firing, and the flames from the burning "Philadelphia" had roused the shore batteries, which mounted in all about one hundred and twenty-five guns, and a fierce bombardment was opened upon the ship with the idea, of course, of destroying the boarding party.

As soon as Decatur and his men got back to the ketch, they made sail and stood out of the harbor under the heavy fire from the forts, but succeeded in reaching the "Siren" without casualty. When the "Intrepid" was half-way out of the harbor, the "Philadelphia" blew up, and was totally destroyed, and thus the object of the expedition was attained. The "Siren" at once sailed for Syracuse, where Decatur and his men were received with great enthusiasm by the Commodore and the fleet.

For his conduct on this occasion, Decatur was made a Post Captain by Congress, and a sword was presented to him, while Lawrence in common with the other officers was voted two months' pay, "a sordid and paltry reward which he declined with an indignation scarcely repressed by respect for the hand that offered, or the name that sanctioned it."*

This exploit, which closely resembled that of the capture of the "Hermione," in Puerto Cabello, five years before, was declared by Nelson to be the most brilliant deed of the age.

In the following summer Preble resumed the bombardment of Tripoli, and prosecuted his operations with characteristic energy and determination. In the gunboat attacks of August 3rd and 7th, in which Decatur

* Washington Irving.

again signally distinguished himself, Lawrence commanded the "Enterprise." For his services on both occasions, he received the thanks of the Commodore, "for active exertions in towing out and protecting prizes."

This was the second time that Lawrence had received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for gallantry in action. Nothing helps a young officer more, or is a greater stimulus than the commendation of his seniors. A professional compliment is for an ambitious officer a very precious and tangible reward for conscientious endeavor; of course, one does only right when one does his duty, but appreciation is always pleasant and encouraging, and if judiciously expressed is productive of good rather than harm.

After the attack of August 3rd, in which James Decatur was killed, Stephen Decatur, who commanded one division of the gun-boats went on board the "Constitution" to report to the Commodore. Preble was standing on the quarter-deck when Decatur approached him, and said, "Sir, I have the honor to report that I have captured three of the enemy's gun-boats."

Preble flew into a towering passion, and with a sudden impulse, he seized Decatur by the lapels of his coat and almost shook him, as he exclaimed: "Three, sir, where are the rest of them? Why have you not brought them all out, sir?"

Decatur instinctively felt for his dirk, but fortunately it had been dropped overboard in his hand-to-hand fight with the captain of one of his prizes, and this breathing spell gave Preble time to recover himself. He took Decatur into his cabin, and there the quarrel was made up, and what might have been a grave scandal avoided.*

* The Lucky Little "Enterprise."

In the midnight attacks on the 28th of August, and the 3rd of September, "within pistol shot of the rocks," Lawrence commanded gun-boat No. 5, a small launch of twenty-five tons, armed with a long twenty-four-pounder.*

On the night of September 4th, Lawrence witnessed the most dramatic incident of the war and one which resulted in the death of several of his warmest friends and shipmates. Preble had decided to try the effect of a fireship on the enemy's vessels, and to this end he loaded the "Intrepid" with 15,000 pounds of powder, and 2,000 shell, with the object of sending her into the harbor, and exploding her in the midst of the Tripolitans. Richard Somers volunteered for the command, and took with him Midshipmen Wadsworth and Israel. There was no moon, and a thick haze hung over the water. The "Intrepid" was accompanied to the entrance of the harbor by the "Argus," "Vixen" and "Nautilus," which were to pick up the "Intrepid's" boats after the fuse to the magazine had been lighted. The first part of the programme was successfully carried out, but soon after the "Intrepid" had disappeared in the mist, and before she could have reached the intended position, she exploded "with a light, one fancies, as of the noon sun; with a roar second only to the last trumpet."†

There were no survivors, and it was never known what caused the premature explosion. Somers was a brilliant and dashing officer, and his death was a great loss to the navy. A monument to him and his companions was erected years afterward in the grounds of the Naval Academy.

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* Cooper.

† Carlyle.

Early in September, 1804, Lawrence was transferred to the frigate "John Adams," twenty-eight guns, as her first lieutenant, a responsible position for a young officer twenty-three years old, and with only six years' sea service. But the experience of a score of peace years had been crowded into those six of almost constant warfare. Aside from his service in the French war, he had already been in seven fights, and had played a conspicuous part in the most famous of all cutting-out expeditions. This record and his service as first of the "Enterprise," leaves no doubt that he was well fitted to be the executive officer of the "John Adams."

The "Adams" was commanded by Master Commandant Isaac Chauncey, and in February, 1805, she sailed for the United States from Gibraltar, flying Preble's broad pennant, he having been relieved by Commodore Samuel Barron. For his services in the Mediterranean Preble received a gold medal, which was delivered to him at Portland by Lieutenant Jacob Jones, who was sent from Washington for that purpose. In the letter of transmission, the Secretary of the Navy said:

"You will receive it, sir, as a testimony of your country's estimation of the important and honorable services rendered by you; and you will be pleased to accept an assurance of the great pleasure I have in the honor of presenting it to you."*

In October, 1806, when Aaron Burr's expedition was causing the Administration great anxiety, it was proposed to send Preble to New Orleans in command of the naval forces to be ordered there to save Louisiana. This plan, however, was abandoned, and Preble was not again employed at sea. His health failed soon afterward, and in 1807, at the comparatively early age of forty-six, he died at Portland of consumption.

* American State Papers.

Lawrence's next sea service, after his return to the United States, was the command of one of the flotilla of small gun-boats which had been authorized by Congress upon the insistence of President Jefferson. The history of these gun-boats is interesting. Jefferson's hostility to the navy was pronounced, but not more so than that of Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, who in 1801, thought the navy should be satisfied with $670,000.* Jefferson, after disposing of as many ships as possible at the conclusion of the French war, recommended that the remaining frigates be laid up at the Navy Yard at Washington, where "they would be under the immediate eye of the Department, and would require but one set of plunderers to take care of them." But in 1803, Congress, instead of reducing the navy, decided to build four sixteen-gun brigs, and fifteen gun-boats, and appropriated $96,000 for the brigs alone.† Gun-boat service was not popular in the navy, and they were not considered by sea-going authorities as an adequate coast defence, but they were cheap: the estimated price of one gun-boat was $5,000, and a whole flotilla of gun-boats could be built for the price of a frigate.‡ As a matter of fact, nothing could be more fatuous than to build vessels that could neither fight nor run away, simply because they were cheap.

In February, 1807, Mr. Jefferson recommended the building of two hundred gun-boats, and while the discussion was dragging in Congress, and between the President and his Secretary of Treasury, the "Chesapeake" affair occurred, and the President won his point. Randolph of Virginia was bitter in his opposition to vot-

* History of the United States—Adams.
† *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid.*

ing any money for the support of a "degraded and disgraced navy," and Josiah Quincy declared that "except for rivers and shallow waters these gun-boats were a danger rather than a defence; and at all times and places they were uncomfortable, unpopular in the service, and dangerous to handle and fight. . . . Imprisonment for weeks, months or years in a ship of the line was no small hardship, but service in a coop not wide enough to lie straight in, with the certainty of oversetting or running ashore, or being sunk in bad weather or hostile attack, was a duty intolerable to good seamen and fatal to the navy."*

The gun-boats afforded no end of amusement to Mr. Jefferson's political enemies, and when "Number One" was driven high and dry in a corn field on White Marsh Island in the great cyclone that struck the coast on September 4, 1804, the delight of the pamphleteers, and the scribblers knew no bounds. One wrote of the stranded gun-boat:

"Let her rest there, and she will grow into a ship of the line by the time we go to war with Spain. Should this new experiment in agriculture succeed, we may expect to see the rice-swamps of Carolina and the tobacco fields of Virginia turned by our philosophical Government into dry docks and gun-boat gardens." Another said: "A use has been found for her; she has become a scare-crow in a Georgia corn field." At a banquet in Boston, one of the toasts was: "Gun-boat 'Number One'; if our gun-boats are of no use upon the water, may they at least be the best upon earth."†

At a meeting of the Cabinet in October, 1807, an order was drafted by which the large ships were to

* History of the United States—Adams.

† History of the People of the United States—McMaster.

be laid up at the Navy Yards, and to be used as receiving ships for the gun-boats. Such was the policy of the Administration at a time when war with England was considered inevitable.

These boats were originally intended for river and harbor service, but some one conceived the idea that it would be a good thing to send them to the Mediterranean to patrol in front of Tripoli to oppose the mosquito fleet of the Bashaw, which was composed of fifty gun-boats, two hundred coasters of twenty to thirty tons and a number of small vessels of peculiar rig and build, and they were accordingly prepared for foreign service. The United States gun-boats were seventy-one feet long, eighteen feet beam, and sixty to seventy tons burden.* They were mostly sloop-rigged, and armed with two long thirty-two-pounders, which it was necessary for the safety of the vessel to stow below during the voyage across the Atlantic. They were very low in the water, and consequently very wet and uncomfortable, and almost uninhabitable in a sea-way.

Acting upon the same principle which makes a torpedo boat a cruiser, seven of these little craft were sent to Europe, sailing from different parts of the United States, and strangely enough, with one exception they arrived within a few hours of each other at Syracuse. The exception was No. 7, which sailed from New York, May 14, 1805, but springing her mast she returned to port to get a new one. She sailed again on the 20th of June, and was never heard of afterward.†

Lawrence, at this time less than twenty-four years of age, was ordered to command No. 6. Referring to his cruise in this vessel some time afterward, he said that

* Emmons.

† History of the United States Navy—Maclay.

when he first went on board No. 6, he had not the faintest idea that he would ever reach the Mediterranean, "or indeed, anywhere else."

He sailed from New York in May, 1805. The passage was stormy, but otherwise without incident until he was off the Azores, when he fell in with H. B. M. ship "Lapwing," Captain Upton, who mistaking No. 6 for a wreck ran down to offer assistance, and would not at first believe that Lawrence had actually crossed the Atlantic in such a frail craft.

A few days later, the little gun-boat had a notable experience with the English fleet off Cadiz, and for a few minutes, Lawrence was brought face to face with one of the greatest of sea captains, Lord Collingwood. The event was important on account of the attending circumstances, and the intimate bearing it had on the causes that led to the war with England several years later.

It was in the afternoon of June 12th, that the little gun-boat was brought to and boarded by the "Tenedos" and the "Dreadnought," the latter commanded by Captain Rotheram, and flying the flag of Vice Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood. While Lawrence was entertaining the boarding officers in his cabin, three of his men who had already given him a great deal of trouble declared themselves English subjects, and demanded the protection of the English flag. The details of the affair are given in Lawrence's report to Commodore Rodgers, which is here produced.* The affair of No. 6 was eclipsed by that of the "Baltimore" which preceded it in 1798, and that of

* The document is in the possession of Colonel Rodgers, of Havre de Grace, and the author is indebted to the present Rear Admiral Frederick Rodgers, who kindly obtained permission to publish it.

the "Chesapeake" which followed the next year, and in consequence has all but disappeared from history, but the principle which actuated British action in all three cases was identically the same, and made open hostilities between the two countries a matter of time only.

U. S. Gunboat No. 6, July 12, 1805.

SIR:—

I take the liberty of enclosing you the particulars of the loss of three of my men by the English fleet off Cadiz. I should have made out the statement immediately on my arrival in this port, but have been constantly employed until this moment getting No. 6 ready for sea.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant, JAS. LAWRENCE.

On the 12th day of June, being off Cadiz, was brought to by the English squadron off that place and was boarded by the "Tenon" ("Tenedos"? "Junon"?) and the "Dreadnought." While I was below with the officers, three of my men who had been very unruly during the passage, finding some of their old shipmates in the boat, declared themselves English subjects and demanded protection, one of them acknowledging himself a deserter from the "Flora" Frigate; on the cockswain's informing the officers of it, I immediately went on deck and found these three men to be John Patterson, William White, and George Brown; they were demanded by the officers as English subjects and one as a deserter. I refused giving them up.

By this time the "Tenon's" boat had gone on board the Admiral with the intelligence. Finding it useless to have any altercation with the officer, I judged it more prudent to go on board the Admiral and make him fully acquainted with the situation of the men. I accordingly went on board with the officer, but previous to my leaving the vessel, I gave my second officer, Mr. Roach, positive orders on no account to suffer a man to leave the boat until I had returned. On getting aboard I had a long conference with Captain Rotheram, to whom I stated that the men were shipped in New York, and had received five months' advance, and had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and that it was more than

my commission was worth to give them up. He observed that, as they had voluntarily come forward and claimed protection as English subjects, he hoped I would not object to giving them up; if I did he would take them. He said he had sent for them, and if on examination, it should appear that they were not Englishmen they should be immediately given up. I observed that they would not be permitted to leave the boat, as the Commanding Officer had positive orders not to suffer a man to leave the vessel; but on looking out of the cabin windows, I perceived them in the boat.

On coming on board they were examined; Patterson produced a discharge from the "Hercules"; White was known by the name of Thos. Rickets, to have served his time in Plymouth Dock as a rope maker, and Brown by the name of George Marchant, who acknowledged to have deserted from the "Flora." On Admiral Collingwood being informed of this, I was sent for. He observed that as the men were clearly proved to be English subjects, he was obliged to keep them.

I requested him to let the business run until I arrived at Gibraltar, where the business would be investigated before Capt. Shaw, who I made no doubt, would cheerfully give them up on their being proved to be Englishmen. He answered they were on board and must stay. I then told him that I had received them on board as Americans, they having taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and [I] should consider them as such; that if he was determined to keep the men, I should deliver up the United States gun-boat No. 6 to him, and requested him to send an officer to take charge of her. He refused to have anything to do with her, or to deliver up the men. Thus situated I was under the necessity of leaving the "Dreadnought" at 8 P. M., as there was every appearance of a gale coming, and my vessel not calculated to claw off a lee shore.

On getting on board (No. 6), I found that as soon as the "Dreadnought's" boat got alongside, Patterson who was at the helm left it and jumped into the boat, and was followed immediately by the other two before Mr. Roach could stop them, who, at any rate, could have made very little resistance, as the guns were below and no cartridges filled.

Addressed to John Rodgers, Esq.,

Commanding the American Squadron in the Mediterranean.

When Rodgers was informed of the outrage committed on No. 6, he issued the following general orders to his squadron, and although the feeling between the American and English navies in the Mediterranean was continually growing more and more bitter, there were no more overt acts committed upon our flag in these waters.

GENERAL ORDERS.

United States Frigate "Constitution," Syracuse, 12th July, 1805.

An insult offered to the flag of the United States of America on the 12th of June last, near Cadiz, by a British Squadron, under the command of Vice Admiral Collingwood, induces me, as the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Naval Forces in these seas, to direct that you do not, under any pretense whatever, suffer your vessel to be detained, or your men taken out of your vessel without you are compelled to do so by superior force; in which case, having resisted to the utmost of your power, you are directed to surrender your vessel, as you would to any other common enemy, but on no account to leave her after you have struck your colors; after which, if you are not compelled by the author or authors of such insult and violence, to quit your vessel, you are directed by me to do so, and going on board the enemy, to deliver your sword to the commanding officer of the enemy's vessel, and not to return to your own again, unless you are absolutely put on board of her by force.

On saying you are not to suffer your vessel to be detained, you are not to consider that it extends to the prevention of your giving every satisfaction to the vessels of war, you may meet on the high seas, whose nations are at peace with the United States, so far as a friendly intercourse will justify.

Jno. Rodgers,
Commander-in-Chief of the United States Naval Force in the Mediterranean.

Lawrence arrived in the Mediterranean too late to take further part in the war, which had been ended by a

treaty of peace which the Pasha of Tripoli had signed on the 5th of June, 1805, just a week before the affair of June 12th, with the British fleet. Tobias Lear, the American Consul General to Algiers and Tripoli, who conducted the negotiations, agreed to pay $60,000 ransom for the prisoners of the "Philadelphia," and this was the last tribute money ever paid out of the United States Treasury.

"Thus, after four years of unceasing effort," says Adams, "the episode of the Tripolitan war came to a triumphant end. Its chief result was to improve the navy and give it a firmer hold on popular sympathy. If the once famous battles of Truxtun, and the elder seamen, were ignored by the Republicans, Preble and Rodgers, Decatur and Hull, became brilliant names; the midnight death of Somers was told in every farmhouse; the hand-to-hand struggle of Decatur against thrice his numbers inflamed the imagination of schoolboys who had never heard that Jefferson and his party had declaimed against the navy. Even the blindest could see that one more step would bring the people to the point so much dreaded by Jefferson, of wishing to match their forty-fours against some enemy more worthy of their powers than the pirates of Tripoli."

Lawrence remained in command of No. 6 sixteen months, and did not return to the United States until July, 1806, when his vessel was put out of commission at Baltimore.

This cruise ended his services in the Mediterranean. It is unfortunate that the records of the Navy Department covering this period are so incomplete. For this reason Lawrence's services have of necessity been indicated rather than described, and to appreciate his character as a zealous, active and skillful officer it is neces-

sary to remember the discouraging circumstances of personal hardship and discomfort of his five and one-half years' service abroad.

Except for a month on the "John Adams," a ship of five hundred and forty-four tons, his duty was confined to two small vessels, the combined tonnage of which was not equal to that of a modern sea-going tug boat. And these vessels, especially the "Enterprise," were kept at sea constantly, convoying, blockading and carrying despatches. It was a hard and difficult life, but it produced a type of sea-officer that has never been excelled.

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE—SERVICE DURING PEACE—COMMANDS THE "WASP," "ARGUS" AND "HORNET."

In 1807, about the time of the "Chesapeake" and "Leopard" affair, Lawrence was ordered to Portland, Maine, to relieve Commodore Preble as inspector of the gun-boats that were building there. During the same year he was also stationed for a time at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

While he was on duty at Brooklyn, the editor of one of the New York papers published an article directed against Commodore Rodgers and the commanders of the gun-boats. "Why," he asked, "are the commanders of the gun-boats suffered to be swaggering through the streets when they should be whetting their sabres?"

As Lawrence had been the commander of a gun-boat, he probably felt himself personally aggrieved, and accordingly he wrote a letter to the editor, which, in spite of its grandiloquence, gives a fair idea of his temper. He wrote:

"Your query in the 'Public Advertiser' of Monday was of a nature to excite indignation in the coldest bosom, and procure for you the chastisement which a scoundrel deserves. In answer to your 'Queries' which immediately relate to the navy, if you wish to be informed why Commodore Rodgers did not employ the *apparent force* with which Government has invested him, I would refer you to the constituted authorities. On this sub-

ject they alone can satisfy your curiosity. In regard to the Commanders of the gun-boats, whom you term *swaggerers,* I assure you that their 'sabres' are sufficiently keen to cut off your ears, and will be inevitably employed in that service, if any future remarks injurious to their reputation should be inserted in your paper."

In January, 1808, Lawrence served as a member of the court-martial which tried Captain James Barron, of the "Chesapeake," for surrendering three of his men to the English man-of-war "Leopard," which was acting under orders of Admiral Berkeley,* commanding the British naval forces on the North Atlantic Station.

This affair, while similar to the impressment of Lawrence's blue-jackets by Captain Rotheram, was of much greater importance and consequence, owing to the size of the "Chesapeake" and the high rank of her commanding officer, who supinely permitted the outrage in sight of his own shores. Never, perhaps, in the history of any

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* Admiral Berkeley was not a man with a savory reputation in his own service. In Lord Howe's famous victory of the 1st June, 1790, he commanded the "Marlborough." During the fight he received a slight wound, and turning over the command to the first lieutenant he went below. The first lieutenant, a hot-headed Irishman, seized the opportunity to do a little fighting on his own account, and immediately laid the "Marlborough" alongside three French line of battle ships. Lord Howe, who was sitting in an armchair on the poop of the "Queen-Charlotte," watching the progress of the battle, saw the desperate situation of the "Marlborough" and called to his Fleet Captain, Sir Roger Curtis, and said, "What in the name of Heaven can be the matter with the 'Marlborough'?" Sir Roger, who was keen and satirical, knew Berkeley's character, and after looking intently through his glass a few moments, he turned to the old Admiral and dryly replied: "I don't know, my lord, but I imagine from the conduct of the 'Marlborough,' that Captain Berkeley has been killed."

military service has there been such a lamentable exhibition of neglect of duty, hesitation and moral weakness. The story, although humiliating, is an interesting one. Briefly told, it is this:

The "Chesapeake"* had been lying at the Washington Navy Yard for a long time, apparently being prepared for flagship of the Mediterranean squadron, as the relief of the "Constitution," but, as a matter of fact, she was held there as the "nest-egg" of the yard, no serious effort being made to prepare her for service. Master Commandant Gordon was ordered to command her as early as February, 1807, but he could get no work done in spite of protests, and so it was not until early in June that he was able to sail. He had his first experience with the manner in which the ship had been fitted out when he attempted to fire the customary salute in passing Mount Vernon, for he discovered that neither the sponges nor the rammers would fit the guns.

Captain James Barron, who had been designated as flag officer of the European squadron, was to have the "Chesapeake" as his flagship, and he had written to Gordon, while the latter was growing restive under the dilatory work being performed at Washington, that he had long been familiar "with the perverse disposition of the rulers of that establishment," but advised him that, as bad as it was, to finish up everything there, rather than rely upon the Norfolk Navy Yard, which was even worse.

The "Chesapeake's" battery at this time consisted of twenty-eight 18-pounders, and twelve 32-pound carronades,† and her broadside weighed 444 pounds; but most of these guns had to be mounted after the ship arrived at Hampton Roads. This, and many other things, delayed

* History of the United States—Adams.

† *Ibid.*

her readiness for sea until June 19th, when Gordon reported to the commodore on shore, "we are unmoored and ready for weighing the first fair wind."

On June 21st, Barron hoisted his broad pennant, and the next morning, at a quarter past seven, the "Chesapeake" got under way and stood down the Roads, bound for Gibraltar. She had just cleared the Capes, when the "Leopard," which had been lying at anchor in Lynnhaven Bay, and had preceded the "Chesapeake" to sea as soon as she had made out the latter standing down the Roads, signalled to Barron that she wished to communicate.

The "Chesapeake" was accordingly hove to, and an English officer came on board with a circular letter signed by the British commander-in-chief on the North Atlantic Station, addressed to all commanding officers under his command, to board and search the "Chesapeake" wherever she might be found, and to take out of her certain men alleged to be deserters from the English navy. Barron, of course, refused to recognize the authority of the English Admiral, and as soon as the officer left the "Chesapeake," he directed Captain Gordon to go to general quarters, and at the same time filled away.

Unfortunately (and inexcusably) the decks were littered with stores, and all the gun implements were below; the passages leading to the magazines were choked with articles which should have been stored away before leaving port; in short, the ship was in such confusion that it was impossible either to properly man or serve the battery.

A few minutes after the Englishman returned to his ship, the "Leopard" fired a gun across the bow of the "Chesapeake" as a signal to heave to again, which being disregarded, she fired a broadside at the ship, and con-

tinued firing a quarter of an hour, when the "Chesapeake" struck her flag. With the exception of one gun which was fired by Lieutenant W. H. Allen,* who carried a live coal from the galley in his hand to the gun, the action was entirely on the part of the "Leopard." The "Chesapeake" had several killed and wounded. Among the latter was Barron himself, who during the firing remained standing in the "Chesapeake's" gangway.

Captain Humphreys sent several officers on board the "Chesapeake," who searched the ship, and when they had selected the men they wanted they returned with them to the "Leopard." Barron insisted upon Captain Humphreys taking possession of the "Chesapeake," but this Humphreys declined to do, precisely as Lord Collingwood had refused to receive little No. 6 from James Lawrence.

A court of inquiry, of which Captain Alexander Murray was President, and Littleton W. Tazwell, Esquire, was the Judge Advocate, was convened at Norfolk shortly after the outrage to examine into the causes of Barron's surrender. As the result of the court of inquiry, a general court-martial was ordered for the trial of Barron, Master Commandant Charles Gordon commanding the "Chesapeake" under Barron Captain John Hall, U. S. Marines, and Gunner William Hook. The President of the Court was John Rodgers, and the members were Captains William Bainbridge, Hugh G. Campbell, Stephen Decatur, Charles Stewart, and John Shaw; Master Commandants John Smith, John H. Dent and

* Allen at this time was only twenty-three years old. Several years later when in command of the "Argus," he was killed in the engagement with the "Pelican" in the English Channel. The action lasted forty-five minutes and the "Argus" was captured. The English Commander, Maples, was also killed.

David Porter; Lieutenants Joseph Tarbett, Jacob Jones, James Lawrence, and Charles Ludlow.

Barron was tried on four charges, found guilty, and suspended from duty for five years, and although the Navy Department subsequently ordered him to duty at Norfolk, he was never again employed at sea, and he always remained a discredited man.

It may not be out of place to tell here of the duel between himself and Decatur, which took place nearly twenty years later, and which grew out of this unfortunate affair of the "Chesapeake," which did so much to lessen the dignity of the United States Navy in the eyes of the English.

Decatur had been a member of Barron's court-martial against his own protest, as he explained to the Secretary of the Navy, that, having already formed an opinion of the case, he preferred not to act. Barron knew this, but in the court, when he had an opportunity of objecting to any member, he accepted the court as it was ordered by the Department. Decatur, always a bold and outspoken man, did not hesitate to criticise Barron in the severest terms, and when afterward the war actually broke out, and Barron, who was then in Europe, did not return to the United States to take part in it, Decatur, whenever occasion arose, became even more violent on the subject than he had been before.

After the war was over, Barron and his friends made a determined effort to have him restored to the favor of the Department and given a command afloat. This effort was strongly opposed by Commodore Decatur, who said that Barron deserved no consideration, as he had absented himself from the country during the entire war.

It is not necessary here to enter into the details of the correspondence which took place between the two men,

and which led to the bloody affair at Bladensburg in 1820; suffice it that the duel was fought and Decatur was killed. Mr. James Barnes, in his "Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors," gives a very interesting account of this duel. Its particular interest lies in a hitherto unpublished story which was found in the papers of Mr. Barnes's great-grandfather, Commodore Bainbridge, who was Decatur's second. Both men lay wounded on the ground, each thinking that his wound was fatal. Decatur said to Barron, after some conciliatory words had been exchanged:

"Barron, will you please tell me why you did not return to this country during the war?"

With great embarrassment Barron replied:

"I will tell you what I never expected to tell a living soul. I was in an English prison for debt."

In the same year of the "Chesapeake" court-martial, that is to say in 1808, Lawrence was married to Miss Julia Montaudevert, the daughter of a French sea-captain, who was lost off the Scilly Islands. By this marriage Lawrence had two children, a girl and a boy; the latter was a posthumous child and died in infancy. The daughter, Mary, grew into a beautiful and accomplished woman, and became the wife of Lieutenant William Preston Griffin of the navy. She died at the Villa d'Elci, near Florence, in 1843.* Mrs. Griffin left an infant

* "The spot where she lies has not all the rural beauty of Mount Auburn, but the hand of Art has done much to embellish it, and the heights of Fiesole look down upon it, and fill it with classical recollection. It is an appropriate resting place for genius, virtue and heroic spirit, and she possessed them all. In her moral and intellectual endowment she was worthy of the gallant man whose name she bore, and whose dying words will live in the hearts of his countrymen through all fu-

daughter who was afterward the late Mrs. Redmond of Newport. Her only child, a son, is still living.

Soon after his marriage, Lawrence was ordered to the "Constitution" as first lieutenant, and was for six months in command of that famous vessel. This seems to have been his only connection with Old Ironsides. He was then given the command of the twelve-gun brig "Vixen."*

An interesting letter, incompletely dated, written by Lawrence to his wife, presumably while in command of the "Vixen," has recently come to light. It is as follows:

BALTIMORE, May 5th, (?).

MY DEAREST JULIA:—

As I was disappointed in getting my letter ashore in time for Saturday's mail, I hasten on my arrival at this place to inform you that not being able to bear the suspense I was kept in, I made application a few days past for permission to go on to Washington for the purpose of having a *confab* with the Secretary; he very politely answered me by saying he would be happy to see me.

I this morning left the brig in my new boat and arrived here after a pleasant passage of five and one half hours, intending to leave this early in the morning for Washington, but on attempting to dress for the purpose of making one or two calls, you can better judge than I describe, my disappointment on overhauling my trunk, to find that in place of my new coat, my d——ned *Portugee* Steward had packed up an old storm staysail that had been condemned these two years; you will scarcely credit me when I assure you that I bore it like a philosopher, imputed it an accident on his part, did not *utter an oath,* sat down and ate a

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ture time as the index of an unconquerable spirit and as an incentive to heroic deeds in others."—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

* The "Vixen" was 185 tons burden, and was manned by 111 men. Her cruise under Lawrence was uneventful, but in 1812, a few months after the declaration of war against England, she was captured by the British frigate "Southampton," and while attempting to make port, both vessels were lost on the Bahama Banks.

hearty supper, felt more *comfortable* than if I had gotten into a violent passion, and finally determined to send Mr. Cooper back for my coat and wait his return with patience.

He will not be able to get it before next Tuesday evening; the next morning I shall leave this (city).

As soon as I see the Secretary, I will write you fully. You may rest assured that I shall call to aid all the rhetoric I am possessed of, and if possible get permission to return. If it is intended to send Mr.* and Mrs. Barlow out with me, I shall certainly see them in Washington, and give them such a beautiful account of the accommodations, particularly as respects to the ladies as will, I am in hope, induce them to take a merchantman from choice.

I believe our darling is a year old to-day; kiss her affectionately for me; that she may experience many, many happy returns of the day is the fervent prayer of her doting father.

I shall attend most strictly to your request, and write in the morning to your Aunt Parker.

Remember me affectionately, my dearest Julia, to the family, and believe me truly, Your affectionate, J. L.

P. S.—I take Cooper† with me, as I wish to introduce him to the Secretary.

Lawrence had been only a short time in the "Vixen" when he was ordered to command the sloop "Wasp," from which ship he was transferred in a few weeks to the "Argus." As the orders to the "Argus" were distasteful to him, he begged to have them rescinded. His letter to the Secretary of the Navy on the subject is characteristic of his self-assertion.

U. S. Ship "Wasp,"
N. York, June 19, 1810.

Sir:—

Having received information from current report an exchange between Captain Jones, of the "Argus," and myself as commander of the "Wasp" is intended by the Department, I beg leave to offer

* Joel Barlow, Minister to France.

† Midshipman Benj. S. Cooper, died a Captain in 1850.

a few observations on the subject, and trust and hope they will not be deemed irrelevant, or considered as impertinent.

When I received orders to join the "Wasp" I considered it as an honor which required my most vigorous exertions to merit, and trust that in the discharge of my duty, it cannot be discovered that I have been for a moment forgetful of the great object of my pursuit; how far my exertions have been crowned with success is not for me to say; it is sufficient that I am fully, and firmly persuaded that they have been exercised to the best of my ability.

As commander of the "Wasp" I have been at considerable trouble in procuring, disciplining and obtaining a knowledge of my crew as absolute essentials for carrying into effect such orders as might be committed to me, and after having secured these objects by the most unremitted care and anxiety, I must confess my feelings would be wounded by a causeless removal from a command which I had considered such an honor, and as incitive to the most active exertions.

It has ever been the first wish of my heart to submit with cheerfulness to any order from you which might be intended to benefit the service, and if the public good can be promoted by the change now contemplated, I will with as much pleasure resign the command with which you were pleased to honor me, as I at first accepted it, but if no such object can be accomplished, I must with proper deference, beg leave to be continued in my command, as the vessels are of the same rate.

With these observations I shall leave the subject entirely to your discretion, and have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obd. serv't,

JAS. LAWRENCE.

The Honorable Paul Hamilton.

The request was not approved, and Lawrence exchanged into the "Argus," the event being recorded as follows in the log of the "Argus," dated at New York, 3rd of July, 1810:

People employed preparing to remove on board the "Argus." At 4 P. M. Captain James Lawrence took charge of the U. S. Brig "Argus," with the following officers, viz: Lieutenants John Orde

Creighton, and Joseph Nicholson, Sailing Master William B. Shubrick, Lieutenant Swift, of the Marines, Doctor Hartfield, Midshipmen Sigourney, Webb, Downes, Mayo and Cooper, and one hundred and eighty-six men. At the same time Captain Jacob Jones with his officers and men took charge of the "Wasp."*

In the fall of 1810 a Board, of which Commodore Rodgers was President, was appointed to conduct a series of trials with a torpedo invented by Robert Fulton.

The "Argus" was lying in the East River near the Navy Yard, and she was selected to be the target. Rodgers directed Lawrence to prepare his vessel to receive a torpedo attack and to report when he was ready.

The defence that Lawrence devised against Fulton's spar torpedo is identical in principle with the modern defence against the automobile. Lawrence borrowed a

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* Of the eight sea-officers who accompanied Lawrence to the "Argus," five rose to the rank of Commodore, and with one or two exceptions, all became distinguished in the service. Creighton, who had been on board the "Chesapeake" in her affair with the "Leopard," eventually commanded the Brazil Squadron. William Shubrick was a brother of John Templar, and won distinction as the third lieutenant of the "Constitution" in her fight with the "Cyane" and "Levant." He was in command of the squadron in the Pacific during the Mexican War, and ten years later commanded the Paraguay expedition, flying at the time the flag of Vice Admiral. Of the Midshipmen, Downes, who was Porter's first lieutenant in the cruise of the "Essex," and Mayo rose to flag rank. Sigourney was killed in 1813 just a month after Lawrence, and his fate was equally sad. He commanded a small sloop which was operating in the Chesapeake and its tributaries when he was attacked by a cutting-out expedition from an English man-of-war. In the fight that followed, Sigourney was shot through the body, but refused to go below; while sitting on the deck near the main mast, animating his men by his example, an English marine stepped up to him, and deliberately shot him through the head.

splinter net* from the "President" and hung it around the "Argus" at the end of his spare spars, which were rigged out from the ship's sides, the net being weighted with five grapnels and pigs of kentledge. When Fulton saw this, he acknowledged that his torpedo could not get through, and asked for time to prepare a scheme for overcoming the net. Thereupon he proceeded to invent what he called "a combination of knives calculated to be fired from a gun for the purpose of cutting a hole through the net, which being effected, a trough half the size of the body of a cart (containing the torpedoes) was to be introduced into said hole, and the torpedoes emptied in the same manner that potatoes are commonly emptied from the body of a cart."† Naval officers will recognize in the "combination of knives" a curious resemblance to the scissors with which the modern English Whitehead torpedo is fitted for the same purpose of cutting through the defending net.

In spite of Fulton's ingenuity the experiments with his torpedo were a failure.

Shortly after taking command of the "Argus" Lawrence received his commission as Master Commandant, dated November 3, 1810.‡

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* A splinter net, as its name indicates, is for the purpose of catching flying splinters in action. In the days of wooden ships, splinters were as dangerous as projectiles. The net was made of rope and tarred and mixed with sand in order to make the rope hard and stiff and invulnerable to knife and cutlass. The nets were triced up around the ship outside the lower rigging, and also formed a defence against boarders.

† American State Papers.

‡ This rank has not existed in the navy for many years, but it corresponded nearly with the present rank of Commander. A Master Commandant was eligible for the command of the smaller vessels only, just as a Commander of the navy to-day can command only vessels of certain displacement.

The following letters from Lawrence to the Navy Department during his command of the "Argus," and also of the "Hornet" previous to the war, throw some light upon his professional life, and give a fair estimate of his character as a sea-officer. Unfortunately they do not form a connected story, but between the lines we can read something of the customs of the navy eighty years ago, that contrast strongly with conditions on board a modern man-of-war at the present day.

Unfailing thoughtfulness and consideration for others, particularly for those under his command, so far as duty permitted, stands out as one of Lawrence's chief characteristics; and such indeed is the testimony of all his contemporaries.

New York, Jan. 6, 1811.

Sir:—

I have received a letter from Commodore Rodgers dated the 2nd inst., directing me to prepare the "Argus" immediately for foreign service. He mentions having written to you on the subject of her being coppered previous to her sailing (which can be done on a moderate estimate of three days). In the event of your not thinking it necessary until her return, I have informed him that I can proceed on the service required on twelve hours' notice.

In consequence of the long and serious illness of Lieutenant Nicholson, I was induced to represent his situation to Commodore Rodgers who directed me to grant him permission to remain with his friends a short time for the benefit of his health, at the same time Mr. Shubrick was appointed to act as Lieutenant in his place, which leaves me without a Sailing Master and obliges me to request that you will be pleased to order Lieutenant Hoffman to the "Argus." He is now in New York, and has requested me to intercede with you to appoint him to her.

Should you think proper to appoint him, the Junior Lieutenant can attend to the duties of the Sailing Master until one is ordered.

Very respectfully, etc.

U. S. Brig "Argus,"
Annapolis, April 27, 1811.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report to you the arrival at this place of the U. S. Brig "Argus" under my command after a tedious passage of seven days from New York accompanied by a succession of light southerly winds.

I was instructed by Commodore Rodgers to repair to this place prepared for foreign service, and (I) have the pleasure of informing you that the "Argus" is in excellent order, and prepared in every respect to perform the service required.

As my orders were to report to you on my arrival, and as no mail leaves this (place) until Tuesday next, I have thought it most expedient to send an officer on with my report, and have directed Lieutenant Shubrick to set out for Washington immediately, which will be benefitting him as well as the service, as he has a recruiting account for the "Wasp" and "Argus" of long standing, which he is anxious to settle, and which I presume can be done in one day. Very respectfully, etc.

N. B. As Purser Ludlow has stated to me the necessity of his going to Washington for the purpose of settling some business, I have granted him permission to go on for that purpose, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

As an expression of opinion upon a subject that has recently been discussed in the navy with vigor and acrimony, the following letter has an especial value and interest. It will be a surprise to many that even at that early day, such men as Lawrence objected to marines as part of the ship's company.

"Argus," Annapolis, (same date).

Sir:—

Previous to my leaving New York, I understood that a Marine Officer was to be ordered to the "Argus" in place of Lieutenant Winthrop. As I have only a Sergeant's Guard on board, and one of the first (best?) sergeants in my opinion in the service, I have to request that the services of a Marine Officer be dispensed with.

Should you be pleased to allow her only a Sergeant's Guard,

I will with pleasure attend and see that the duties of his office are not neglected.

I am induced to make the above request on two accounts; first, that the number of (the) Marine Company, or Lieutenant's Guard, takes from the efficient force of the vessel of the size of the "Argus," inasmuch as they can be of no service aloft, and that in time of action I have always found more than a Sergeant's Guard so much in the way as in some measure to impede the working of the guns; second, that the "Argus" is not calculated to accommodate any more officers than she has at present, which I trust with my second objection will induce you to grant my request.

Annapolis, April 29th.

Sir:—

As the "Argus" is prepared in every respect to execute any service you may be pleased to order her on, I have to request your indulgence in granting me permission to come on to Washington for ten days provided it does not interfere with any arrangements you may have made.

U. S. Brig "Argus,"
Gloucester Point, May 21st.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report to you that I have arrived off the Delaware on the fifth day after leaving Washington, cruised in the offing until yesterday, and was induced in consequence of the prospect of a blow from the N. E. to run up the Bay for a harbour.

As I was deceived in my calculation, and the wind continued to favor me, I judged it advisable to run up to the city for the purpose of taking on board two additional guns you gave me an order for when last in Washington, (having understood there were two light twelve pounders well calculated for chase guns at the Navy Yard).

I shall get them on board in the morning if they will answer, and immediately drop down and cruise my limited time.

Should there be a prospect of getting seamen in Philadelphia I will leave an officer to recruit. If not I shall be under the necessity of sending one to New York, where the "Argus" is un-

known, as I have several seamen and petty officers whose term of service expired within a few days, and a number whom I shall be obliged to discharge early in June.

Since I have left the Chesapeake I have overhauled every vessel I possibly could, but have not been able to discover that any armed vessel has been off the Delaware for some time, excepting the French brig now at Philadelphia.

(To the Secretary of the Navy.)

"Argus," New York, June 16th.

Sir:—

Commodore Rodgers (now lying at Staten Island wind bound) has informed me by telegraph* the arrival of the frigate "United States," with directions for me to communicate the same to you immediately.

In the following October, Lawrence was ordered to the "Hornet,"† the command of which he assumed at Norfolk on the 25th of October, 1811. Among the officers of the "Hornet" were two who later transferred with him to the "Chesapeake" and served with him in his last fight; these were Ludlow and Budd. The Sailing Master was David Connor, who in later life became a Commodore and commanded the Gulf Squadron in the war with Mexico.

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* An obsolete expression for signals.

† At the time Lawrence joined the "Hornet" she was a single-deck man-of-war brig of 460 tons, and carried 18 thirty-two pounder guns. After he brought her back from Europe, she was altered into a ship, and two guns were added to her battery. Her mean draft was a little more than 13 feet, and her crew consisted of 186 men, a much greater number than she had on board during the War of 1812.

The "Hornet" sailed on her last cruise, February 5, 1829, under the command of Master Commandant Otho Norris. She was lost with all on board off Tampico, and is supposed to have foundered in a heavy gale.

Lawrence's first letter to the Navy Department from the "Hornet" was the following:

U. S. Ship "Hornet,"
Norfolk, Oct. 26, 1811.

Sir:—

I have the honor to report to you that owing to head winds and extreme bad weather I did not arrive at this place until yesterday, when I immediately assumed command of the "Hornet," and am happy in having it in my power to state to you that I found her in such excellent order that I think Lieutenant Ballard merits every encomium that can possibly be bestowed upon him, for his exertions, which would do credit to any officer of double his standing in the navy.

He states to me that her sailing is much improved, as in his run to Norfolk, he passed everything he met with great ease, which I assure you is highly gratifying to me.

The moment the wind will permit, I shall leave this (place) for New York, where I hope to have it in my power to confirm Lieutenant Ballard's statement.

As I was deprived of the pleasure of seeing you previous to my leaving Washington, permit me to tender you my sincere thanks for the many favors you have conferred on me, and to assure you that no exertions on my part shall be wanting to merit a continuance of the favorable opinion you have evinced toward me.

The "Hornet" reached New York on the evening of November 1st, and anchored in the East River above Brooklyn, having been three days making the passage. She at once began preparations for sea, and on Sunday, November 11th, she dropped down off the Battery, and Lawrence reported the vessel ready for service.

"Hornet," New York, Nov. 11th.

Sir:—

The "Hornet" is in every respect ready for service, and can be put to sea on two hours' notice.

I am happy in having it in my power to state to you that she sails remarkably fast, and is in my opinion as fine a sea-boat as we have in the service.

In the latter part of November, Lawrence was ordered to Europe in the "Hornet" as a bearer of despatches to France and England. Events were crowding fast to break the peace between England and the United States, that for many years, but particularly since the "Chesapeake" affair, had been hanging by the most slender of threads, and the despatches that the "Hornet" was now to take to Paris and London were expected to bring matters to a crisis. Naturally her return with the replies was awaited with unusual interest and anxiety.

The English Minister, Mr. Foster, had arrived in the United States the preceding July, with instructions from Lord Wellesly to settle the "Chesapeake" affair which had long been a matter of dispute, but just before his arrival the affair of the "Little Belt" had taken place, and as Mr. Adams says, "He found that the Americans cared nothing for reparation of the 'Chesapeake' outrage, since Commodore Rodgers had set off against it an outrage of his own, and had killed four men for every one killed by Captain Humphreys." But at the time the "Hornet" sailed on her mission, the public was eager for war; the American Minister, Mr. Pinckney, had left London; the refusal to repeal the orders in Council, the daily insults to American shipping on the coast by British frigates, and the constant proddings of the press, all combined to the open rupture that every one knew could not be delayed much longer.

Before sailing, Lawrence, acting on his own responsibility, but in accordance with precedent, agreed to take

a considerable amount of specie to Europe for certain merchants in New York.

In doing this, Lawrence was entirely within his prerogatives. The transportation of gold, silver, or jewels by men-of-war has always been excepted from the prohibition to receive on board any vessel of the navy any goods or merchandise for freight, sale or traffic. The trouble in this particular case was that the Washington Cabinet, knowing that war with England was imminent, disapproved removal of specie from this country. Lawrence, who had no means of judging the political drift and was ignorant of the real relations between the United States and England, should have been informed by the Navy Department of its views on the subject.

Not only is a naval officer authorized by law to receive on board his vessel such articles for freight or safekeeping, but the law authorizes a certain compensation which he can demand from the owners if he deems proper to do so. At that time the navy pay of a Master Commandant was only $60.00 per month with an allowance of five rations per day, (a ration was worth twenty-five cents) and such an opportunity to add to his slender income was naturally welcomed by Lawrence as a piece of great good fortune.

When the transaction became known at Washington, the President promptly directed the Secretary of the Navy to disapprove the action and order Lawrence to land the money at once.

Lawrence was deeply wounded, and in reply to the Secretary's letter, he quoted as a precedent the case of Captain Evans of the "Chesapeake," and added: "I did not consider it necessary to trouble you on the subject, presuming that the indulgence granted one officer would not be refused to another." He also reminded the De-

partment that by the twenty-third article of war* enacted by Congress in 1800, he had not violated the law. Then with his characteristic frankness he concludes, "I trust you will excuse the liberty I take in observing (as my opinion) that when an officer of the Government enters into a contract in virtue of the Law of the United States (and which had been previously acted on by others), he ought to be permitted to perform contracts already made, although policy may render it necessary to preclude him from making others."

The question of the specie caused Lawrence much anxiety. He felt that his own word was at stake with the merchants, and also from a material point of view, he realized that they could hold him responsible for any pecuniary loss that might be incurred. "In the present instance, considerable loss will be sustained," he wrote the Secretary, "by the merchants who have shipped specie on board the 'Hornet' on the faith of the law above cited, as they were obliged to purchase gold above par, and must deposit it at a loss; and as to myself, I shall be left to their mercy for not performing an obligation I felt authorized to make."

On December 5th he wrote again, saying, "It has been reported in New York this day, that I did not land it (the specie) agreeably to your order. From what

* The 23d article of war:

"If any Commander, or other officer shall receive, or permit to be received, on board his vessel, any goods or merchandise, other than for the sole use of his vessel, except gold, silver or jewels, and except the goods of merchandise of vessels which may be in distress, or shipwrecked, in order to preserve them for their owner, without orders from the President of the United States, or the Navy Department, he shall on conviction thereof be cashiered, and be incapacitated forever afterwards for any place or office in the navy."

my feelings have suffered on this occasion, as well as the risk I ran in being made liable for the loss sustained by the purchase and deposit of gold, I cannot but regret that at the time I received orders to prepare the 'Hornet' immediately for foreign service, it had not been intimated to me that policy required that at this time, specie could not be sent out of the country, and trust that on referring to the variety of precedents which must have occurred to the Department that no blame can be attached to me."

The money was returned to the merchants, being landed in the ship's boats in charge of Lieutenant Connor, and presumably this was the end of the matter.

On December 1st, Lawrence informed the Department, "Should I not be detained long in England or France, I am in hopes to be back in February, as the 'Hornet' is well found in all respects. I have received a letter from the Russian Minister, Mr. Daschkroff, requesting me to bring from France a few articles belonging to him. As he mentions you, I presume there can be no impropriety in my complying with his request."

The "Hornet" dropped down to the Narrows from Staten Island, on December 5th. The day before, she had narrowly escaped going ashore at Governor's Island, and was only saved by Lawrence's clever seamanship. The ship was got under way from the Battery, and beat down the river, but the wind died out and the tide swept her close in-shore, when the "best bower" was let go, and that failing to bring her up, "let go the small, and then immediately picked up both anchors and made sail again."

It was the intention to go to sea that afternoon, but the ship was detained by baffling winds which were in turn succeeded by a southeast gale, and she did not

sail until December 6th, having on board as passengers, Mr. Biddle and Mr. Taylor, messengers to the Courts of St. Cloud and St. James.

The "Hornet" made the passage to Cherbourg in twenty-four days, although the run from land to land was only eighteen days. In the language of the log-book, she "discovered" the town of Cherbourg on the morning of December 31st, and Lieutenant Shubrick was sent ashore for a pilot. Lawrence remained in Cherbourg only long enough to land Mr. Biddle, and then proceeded across Channel to Cowes, where both he and Mr. Taylor left the ship for London.

While at Cowes, Lawrence had another unpleasant encounter with the British naval authorities. One of his men, Robert Montgomery, an ordinary seaman, deserted from the jolly-boat and gave himself up to one of His Majesty's naval recruiting officers, claiming to be a British subject. As soon as Lawrence heard of this, he sent Lieutenant Shubrick ashore to demand his release, but for the second time in his experience his demand for his own men was treated with contempt. Shubrick was told that the man Montgomery was known to be a British subject, and a deserter from the man-of-war "Implacable," Captain Cockburn, and that, therefore, Captain Lawrence's request was declined. There was nothing to do but to submit, but it was another step toward the rupture that was then not far off.

About the middle of January, the "Hornet" returned to Cherbourg, and here rather an amusing incident occurred. The question of gun salutes between foreigners is one that has often caused embarrassment and been productive of ludicrous situations, and yet in naval etiquette there is no ceremony more rigorously observed. The regulations prescribe that salutes to foreigners shall

be returned gun for gun, and any deviation from this rule requires an immediate explanation.

When Lawrence returned to Cherbourg from Cowes, he found there the French Admiral, and after paying the usual call of ceremony and ascertaining that his salute would be returned, he fired a salute of seventeen guns, which, however, was returned with sixteen guns. Lawrence at once remonstrated, and in reply, the Admiral sent an officer on board the "Hornet" to apologize, and to say that the mistake was made by the Captain of the ship, but if Lawrence desired it, he would fire another gun, which was accordingly done.*

About the first of February, Lieutenant Ballard and Midshipman Newton returned from Paris with Mr. Porter, a bearer of despatches from Mr. Barlow, the American Minister to France, to Mr. Rush, Minister in London, and the next day, Lawrence got under way for Cowes, where he remained until the return of Mr. Porter from London. On the return passage to Cherbourg the "Hornet" had a narrow escape from being wrecked on the dyke of the harbor of Cherbourg, and was compelled to stand out to sea to clear it. Before she could regain an offing, it came on to blow, and she did not

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* This incident recalls one in the writer's experience. A man-of-war entered a certain South American port several years ago, and when the anchor was dropped, a national salute of twenty-one guns was fired with the flag of the country at the fore truck. After waiting a reasonable time for a reply from the fort, an officer was sent to demand an explanation, and returned with the answer that there was no powder ashore, but if the Admiral would lend a sufficient number of charges the salute would be returned at once.

The Chinese cut the knot by maintaining a standard salute of three guns, which was never varied, and was until recently the same for a Mandarin as for a Viceroy.

reach Cherbourg until the afternoon of February the 15th, forty-eight hours from Cowes. During the gale, an English brig was sighted; Lawrence at once beat to quarters and cleared for action, but the time for fighting had not yet come, although it was closer at hand than perhaps he imagined. This exciting passage was further marked by losing a man overboard. A boat was lowered and a search made but without success; the boat, however, was stove alongside in hoisting.

The "Hornet" was detained at Cherbourg until the latter part of April, part of which time Lawrence spent in Paris which was then very gay, the Imperial Court being at St. Cloud.

Finally on April 25th, another bearer of despatches from Mr. Barlow to London, accompanied by a party of Americans, arrived from Paris and took passage with Captain Lawrence for England, where they were landed, and then without further stop, Lawrence set sail for the United States on the 27th of April, having on board Mr. Taylor, Sir James Jay, and a Mr. Legrand. At six o'clock in the evening of May the 19th, the "Hornet" anchored off Castle William, having made the passage in twenty-two days in spite of heavy weather, in which she had lost her foretopmast and several lighter spars, and parted much of her running and standing rigging. In reporting his arrival, however, Lawrence informed the Department that he would be again ready for sea in five or six days.

On the 22nd of May, the "Hornet's" despatches were received in Washington, and the event is thus described by the French Minister in a letter to his Government:

"The 'Hornet' has at last arrived. On the rumor of this news the avenues of the State Department were thronged by a crowd of members of both Houses of Congress, as well as by

strangers and citizens, impatient to know what the long expected vessel had brought. Soon it was learned that the 'Hornet' had brought nothing favorable, and that Mr. Barlow had as yet concluded nothing with your Excellency. On this news the furious declamations of the Federalists, of the commercial interests, and of the numerous friends of England were redoubled; the Republicans, deceived in their hopes, joined in the outcry, and for three days nothing was heard but a general cry for war against France and England at once. . . ."*

* History of the United States—Adams.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR WITH ENGLAND.

It is necessary to consider briefly a few of the circumstances which occasioned the open rupture with Great Britain.

England's *credo* "once a subject always a subject," and her claim that a nation had a right to the allegiance of a citizen wherever he might be found, was not accepted by the United States, and her persistence in impressing seamen out of merchantmen with absolute disregard to the safety of navigation, and often leaving vessels too short-handed to work into port, only strained to the ultimate limit political relations that were already sorely tried. Moreover, the Orders in Council, by which Americans were forbidden to trade with France, though ostensibly a belligerant retaliation on the Berlin and Milan decrees, operated so severely on the neutral and maritime rights of the United States that to vindicate her lawful claim to a participation of the common ocean, she had recourse to arms.*

On this subject President Madison said: "We forbore to declare war until to the other aggressions had been added the capture of 1,000 American vessels, and until a final declaration had been made by the Government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against

* Naval Annals.

our commerce would not be revoked, but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with war, which had lasted nearly twenty years, and which according to appearances at that time might last as many more. Our resolution, therefore, to oppose the enemy's persecuting outrages, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and just Providence."*

But what did more than anything else to precipitate the war and make it inevitable was the insolent conduct of English naval officers on the American coast. From Passamaquoddy to Rebellion Roads, they bullied, impressed, blockaded, burned and captured as suited their caprice. On one occasion they rifled the mail, and on another chased a revenue cutter which had on board the Vice-President of the United States.† The affair of the "Chesapeake" was simply the culmination of a long series of outrages beginning with the "Baltimore" in 1798, continuing with the "Cambrian," the "Driver" and the "Leander," and ending with the "Little Belt" in 1811. The news of the "Chesapeake's" encounter with the "Leopard" aroused the wildest passions of the whole country from the seaboard to the Alleghanies, and turned into white heat the smouldering embers of fierce anger against England.

"Never," said Jefferson, referring to the "Chesapeake" affair, "since the battle of Lexington, have I seen this country in such a state of exasperation as at present." But it was not the policy at that time of President Jefferson, or his Secretary of State, to declare war if it could possibly be avoided, and although the popular

* History of the United States—Adams.

† History of the People of the United States—McMaster.

FULL-DRESS UNIFORM OF A NAVAL OFFICER OF 1812
From a portrait in possession of Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N.

voice cried for vengeance, it was five years before the score was settled.

When the breaking strain was reached, and Congress declared war against Great Britain on the 18th day of June, 1812, the navy of the United States consisted of seventeen vessels aggregating 15,300 tons, armed with 442 guns, and manned by 5,052 officers and men. The English navy consisted of 1,048 vessels* armed with 27,800 guns, and a total tonnage of 860,990 tons.† There were nearly 4,000 lieutenants alone in the English navy list. No small wonder then that, according to a writer of that day, "it was the general expectation that the infant navy of the Republic would be swept from the sea."

Before proceeding to consider the career—all too brief—of Lawrence in this war, it will be proper to describe briefly the ships which composed the United States Navy.

The frigates had a spar deck with raised ends, which were called the topgallant forecastle and the poop, upon which were mounted the carronades or short guns; the long guns were mounted on the main deck, which was the deck below the spar deck. Forward on the main deck, a port was cut in each bow through which were thrust long guns, 12-pounders and 24-pounders, called bow chasers. The gun on the forecastle was usually pivoted, that is, it could be trained to fire on either beam—a type of gun mount that was peculiarly American.

The sloops or corvettes had only one deck, which was unbroken by superstructures from bow to stern. On this deck were mounted in broadside the battery of

* MS. in Naval Academy Library—Trowbridge.

† James says the number of naval vessels in commission was 764.

carronades, while the bow was pierced as in the frigates for two long bow chasers. Small brass guns were sometimes mounted on the quarter-deck, but they were as a rule, intended more for ornament than for serious work.

A few years ago an English Admiral dining on board one of our new cruisers said to the American Captain: "You people have forced us to change our ship construction three times; when will you do it again?" The War of 1812 taught the British for the first time that their ships could be improved upon, and the marvelous success of the American frigates, which could fight in any weather, chase and overhaul, and if need be, run away when the odds were against them, compelled English constructors to copy the models of their opponents.

When the "President" was taken to England after her capture, the most careful study was made of her lines, timbers and spars. The result of the investigation, which was conducted with religious scrutiny, was the discovery that her lines were finer, her scantling heavier, and her spars longer and thicker in proportion than those of any British ship of equal, or even of superior rate. For instance, the thickness of the "President," a vessel of 44 guns and of 1,533 tons, at the 'midship main deck port sill, including the outside and inside planking, and the frames, was twenty inches, while the corresponding measurement of the "San Domingo" of 1,819 tons, and the "Hero" of 1,741 tons, which were rated as 74's, was nineteen inches. This difference in the thickness of the sides of the vessels had a very important bearing on the result of an action so far as concerned wounds to the hull, for a shot that would easily pass through the sides of the "Hero," would simply stick in the "President."

A comparison of spars shows that the height of the

main mast of an American 44-gun ship was one foot greater than that of a British 64, and its diameter an inch and one-half greater. This, of course, meant a greatly increased spread of canvas, and consequently greater speed.

Some eminent authorities in England held that the increased weight of hull, caused by thicker sides and heavier spars, would decrease the speed, but any apparent disadvantage of this kind was more than compensated in the American ships by their finer lines and comparatively greater length for same displacement, and in the end, the British were compelled to abandon their blunt bowed, "bottle-nosed," clumsy vessels, and model their hulls on the more graceful curves of the despised Yankees.

At first England looked with apparent unconcern, and certainly with unconcealed contempt on the "piece of striped bunting flying at the masthead of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws," which she confidently expected to sweep out of existence in a few months. "It will never be permitted to be said," exclaimed the "Morning Post" editorially, "that the 'Royal Sovereign' has struck her flag to a Yankee cock-boat."*

As the war progressed the sneers of the English press gave way to apprehension, which in time was succeeded by exasperation with the Admiralty, and the administration of the British navy. The "Times," which had before the war exultingly proclaimed that Americans could scarcely cross to Staten Island without British permission, was forced to acknowledge, after more than eight hundred English merchantmen had been captured in two years, that, "The American cruisers daily enter

* History of the United States—Adams.

in among our convoys, seize prizes in sight of those that should afford protection, and if pursued, 'put on their seawings,' and laugh at the clumsy English pursuers. To what is this owing? Cannot we build ships? It must, indeed, be encouraging to Mr. Madison to read the logs of his cruisers. If they fight, they are sure to conquer; if they fly, they are sure to escape."

The Americans were shrewd enough to invent a new type of frigate which, in strength of frame, weight of metal, and general fighting power, was to a British frigate of the same class, almost what an iron clad would be to a frigate. The "Constitution" was, for example, in size to the average British frigate as 15.3 to 10.9; in weight of metal as 76 to 51, and in crew as 46 to 25.*

Not indifferent, however, to the superiority of the American model, and feeling the difficulty of a competition in time of peace, "the British ship-owner cried for war; yet he already felt without acknowledging it even to himself, that in war he was likely to enjoy little profit or pleasure on the day when the long, low, black hull of the Yankee privateer, with her tapering, bending spars, her long range guns, and her sharp-faced Captain, should appear on the western horizon, and suddenly, at sight of the heavy, lumbering British merchantman, should fling out her white wings of canvas and fly down on her prey."†

In the matter of ordnance the two navies were about equally matched, the English guns being, however, considerably more reliable than the American, due to their better methods of casting. Both services used three types of guns, long guns, carronades, and intermediate guns,

* Naval War of 1812—Roosevelt.

† History of the United States—Adams.

which in England were known as Gover, or Congreve guns, from the name of their inventor, and in the United States as Columbiads, from the fact that they were cast in the District of Columbia. We are only concerned at present with the long guns, and the carronades of which there were in use in the navy eight different calibres, designated by the weight of the shot as 6, 9, 12, 18, 24, 32, and 68 pounders. The diameter of the bore varied from four to eight inches.

The long guns were about eighteen calibres in length, with thick walls and comparatively small bore; the carronades were only about seven and one-half calibres long, had a very large bore, and burned a much smaller charge of powder than the long gun of corresponding calibre. Consequently a ship armed with long guns had a decided advantage over one armed with carronades, even of much larger calibre, and if, furthermore, she possessed greater speed, she could choose her own distance, and by keeping out of range of her opponent's guns, have the whole action to herself.

In close action, however, the carronade ship would have the advantage, inasmuch as her big shot propelled at low velocities would have a tendency to *batter* in the sides of an enemy, while at the same time she would escape similar punishment herself from her opponent's long guns which would simply send their small shot through and through her sides without racking her frames, or doing any other injury than local tearing at the point of impact. It will be well to keep these points in mind when we come to consider the action between the "Hornet" and the "Peacock."

The ammunition used in the guns was solid shot, grape and canister. In addition to these the Americans at short ranges used dismantling shot for the purpose of

cutting up the enemy's rigging. These shot were called, according to their nature, star, chain, double-headed, and bar shot. The bar shot was composed of four or five iron bars about two feet long, fastened by ring heads to a strong head, and tied together lengthwise by rope yarns, which broke upon discharge of the gun, and allowed the bars to spread out. Chain shot were used in the same manner. There has always been much discussion on the subject of the difference in weights between the English and American solid shot; according to the personal investigations of James Fenimore Cooper, which it is fair to assume as correct, we may accept the English shot at full weight, that is to say a 32-pounder fired a shot that weighed 32 pounds, and an 18-pounder fired a shot that weighed 18 pounds and so on. The American shot weighed about 7 percent less. This was probably due to imperfect methods of casting and to impure ore. An American 32-pound shot weighed about 30 pounds; an 18-pound shot about 16 pounds. However, this is not a point of great importance. The final result of every action was altogether out of proportion to insignificant differences in weights and measures, and these figures are only reproduced here as a matter of interest.

Although above all things, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison wanted peace, and deprecated the maintenance of a navy, both of them knew that beyond certain bounds their pacific policy could not prevail. Jefferson's antipathy to the navy did not blind his eyes to its efficiency, and if England should insist upon war, he felt confident that the navy could be depended upon to give a good account of itself. When James Monroe was in London a few months before the "Chesa-

peake" affair, while attempting to negotiate a treaty, Jefferson wrote to him:

"We have the seamen and the material for fifty ships of the line and half that number of frigates, and were France to give us the money and England the dispositions to equip them, they would give to England serious proofs of the stock from which they have sprung and the school in which they have been taught, and added to the effects of the immensity of sea coast lately united under our power would leave the state of the ocean no longer problematical. Were, on the other hand, England to give us the money and France the dispositions to place us on the sea in all our force, the whole world, out of the continents of Europe, might be our joint monopoly."

It was not expected, however, to make much impression upon England's navy; her vulnerable point was her commerce and her fisheries, and privateering had been so successful in the war of the Revolution, that it was resorted to again with increased vigor. Yankee ships were the handiest, trimmest and speediest that had ever been launched, and their seamen had no superiors. Edmund Burke's eulogy on them in an address to the electors of Bristol is worth repeating:

"Pass by other parts of the continent, and look at the manner in which the mariners of New England have of late carried on the Whale Fishery. Whilst we follow them amongst the tumbling mountains of ice and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay, and Davis' Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite regions of polar cold, that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. The

Falkland Islands, which seem too remote and too romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that while some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but is vexed by their fisheries, no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, and firm sagacity of English enterprises ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

After hostilities actually began, it was not long before the seas were covered with privateers, and hundreds of prizes were sent in, from the humble Nova Scotia fisherman to the lordly East Indiaman.* Their daring spirit and boldness were unparalleled. Captain Boyle in the "Chasseur," a Baltimore clipper, in less than three months sent in over $400,000 worth of prizes. He sailed up to the Cliffs of Dover, and burnt and destroyed in sight of the English coast. His visits to the English Channel were so dreaded, that insurance against destruction of vessels by American privateers could only be effected at ruinous rates. On one of his cruises in the English Channel, Boyle issued a proclamation in burlesque of those of Admirals Warren and Cockburn concerning the ports of the United States. He declared "All the ports, harbors, bays, creeks,

* Trowbridge.

rivers and outlets, islands and sea coast of Great Britain and Ireland, in a state of vigorous blockade." And he "assured the world that he possessed quite sufficient force (the 'Chasseur') to compel obedience." By a discharged prisoner he sent the proclamation to London to be posted at Lloyd's.*

This brief glance at the material of the navy, and the men who sailed it give some idea of what the United States had at hand to oppose the naval forces of Great Britain. The English Government entirely failed to grasp either the temper or the resources of the Americans. Mr. Madison might well have exclaimed in the sense, if not in the eloquent words of George Canning's famous speech at Plymouth:

"We cultivate peace neither because we fear nor because we are unprepared for war. The resources created by peace are the means of war. In cherishing these resources we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more proof of inability to act than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town is a proof that they are devoid of strength and incapable of action. You well know how soon one of those stupendous masses now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness, how soon upon any call of patriotism, or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion, how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage, how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength and awaken its dormant thunders."†

The popular feeling in England against Americans has probably never been better described than by Michael Scott in that admirable sea-tale, "Tom Cringle's Log." Scott says:

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* MS. at Naval Academy—Trowbridge.

† History of England in the Nineteenth Century—McCarthy.

"I don't like Americans, I never did and never shall like them. I seldom meet an American gentleman in the large and complete sense of the term. I have no wish to eat with them, drink with them, deal with or consort with them in any way; but let me tell the whole truth. . . . nor fight with them, were it not for the laurels to be acquired by overcoming an enemy so brave, determined, and alert, and every way so worthy of one's steel as they have always proved. . . . In the field, or grappling in mortal combat on the blood-slippery quarter-deck of an enemy's vessel, a British soldier or sailor is the bravest of the brave. No soldier or sailor of any other country, saving and excepting those damned Yankees, can stand against them."

CHAPTER VI.

CRUISE OF THE "HORNET" IN COMPANY WITH COMMODORE RODGERS.

After the return of the "Hornet" from Europe in May, it required no prophet to foretell that the crisis was not far off. As a matter of fact, war was declared on the 18th of June, 1812. At that time Lawrence, with the "Hornet," refitted and overhauled after her stormy passage across the Atlantic, was lying in New York harbor, together with the "President" 44, the flagship of Commodore John Rodgers, the "United States" 44, Captain Stephen Decatur, the "Congress" 36, Captain John Smith, and Lawrence's old ship, the "Argus," 18 guns, now commanded by Master Commandant Arthur Sinclair.

As early as May 21st, the Department had ordered Decatur to be prepared for war, and on June 5th, he was directed to have the ships of his command ready for "extensive active service" and to join Rodgers at New York. On June 18th, the date of the declaration of war, Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Navy, wrote as follows to Rodgers:

"For the present it is desirable that with the force under your command you remain in such position as to enable you most conveniently to receive further more extensive and more particular orders, which will be conveyed to you through New York. But

as it is understood that there are one or more British cruisers on the coast in the vicinity of Sandy Hook, you are at your discretion free to strike them, returning immediately after into port. You are free to capture or destroy them."

Rodgers received these orders on the 21st of June, and it is an interesting fact that it was Lawrence who delivered them, as the "Hornet" had been left at anchor off the Battery to receive despatches, when the other ships dropped down the bay. One hour afterward, Rodgers's squadron was under way and standing down through the Narrows, bound to the southward and eastward to intercept the Jamaica fleet which was supposed to be passing near the coast at that time. This cruise, though barren of result having any effect on the issue of the war, was remarkable for its boldness; furthermore, it demonstrated that the "infant" navy was not a gilded ornament to be housed in port during war, and paraded only in fair weather. Rodgers with that vigorous exertion which marked all his undertakings, and which has justly identified his name permanently with the history of the United States Navy, pushed his little squadron to the West Indies, thence across the Atlantic past the Azores and to the chops of the English Channel, whence he stretched across to the Banks of Newfoundland, and finally arrived at Boston on the 31st of August. He missed his quarry, and made only seven captures of merchantmen, but what was of great significance, he had crossed the King's highway thrice, falling in with but one of His Majesty's cruisers, the "Belvidere," which had escaped capture only by her superior sailing, and this unmolested voyage gave great confidence to the Cabinet at Washington.

An interesting, but unsatisfactory glimpse of the

events of this cruise is gleaned from the log of the "Hornet," from which the following extracts are taken:

New York, June 13, 1812.

Stood down the river and anchored off the Castle.

June 21st, 1812.

At 6 A. M., got under way. At ½ past 2: nearly abeam of the Hook, frigates "President," "Congress" and "United States" in company. At 6 P. M., discharged pilot. At 6 P. M. called all hands to muster, when Captain Lawrence informed the ship's company that war was declared against England and was received by three cheers.

Compare this short and pithy story in the "Hornet's" log of how the news of the declaration of war was received by the blue-jackets, with the account in the log-book of the "Constitution" two days later. It will be seen, however, that the splendid spirit of the men was the same in both ships. The "Constitution's" log reads:

June 20. At 5 P. M. the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Reed, had the crew turned up, and read to them the declaration of war between the United States and the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that had passed the Senate and authorizing the President, James Madison, to employ the Armies and Navy of the United States against the above written power. The crew manifested their zeal in support of the honor of the United States flag by requesting leave to cheer on the occasion. (Granted them.)

Two days after sailing, the squadron sighted and chased the English frigate "Belvidere." The "Hornet's" participation in the chase is thus recorded by Lieutenant Connor and Lieutenant Ludlow, who signed the log:

At Sea, Tuesday, June 23, 1812.

At 35 minutes past 5 (A. M.) the Commodore made signal 370. At 10 minutes past 6 the Commodore made signal 401. At half past 6, the Commodore made signal 606. Made all sail on the

Larb[d] tack. At 8 under press of Sail in chase of a Ship. The chase at this time hoisted English colors in consequence of the Commodore hoisting his. At 11 A. M. discovered the "Congress," "United States," and "President" exchanging signals; could not distinguish them. (At) Meridian; clear and pleasant. Gained on the chase during watch. Carrying all sail. Broached one Barrel Beef, wt. 194 lbs. Water on board 9040 galls. Expended 95 galls. Remaining 8945 galls. Surgeon reports 5 men unfit for duty. Latitude by observation 39 54′ N. (D. C.)

In the afternoon watch, Lieutenant Ludlow notes:

Commences with light winds and pleasant weather. At ½ past 12 set the Larb[d] Lower Stunsail. At 1 set the Main Topmast Stunsail and Ringtail. At 2 set the Main Skysail, Crab Sail and Water Sail. (A. C. L.)

The chase continued all day, but the squadron was unable to overhaul the Englishman. The "President" leading, got within gunshot late in the afternoon and opened fire, which the enemy returned with his stern chasers. During the action one of the guns on the "President" exploded and killed or wounded several of the crew. Commodore Rodgers himself was thrown into the air, and in falling, fractured a leg. A spirited exchange of shot was maintained for several hours, but the "Belvidere" began gaining ground by throwing overboard spare gear, while the "President" being deep in the water with stores for a long cruise, was not able to keep her distance. A stern chase is proverbially a long one, and about midnight, Rodgers abandoned it.

The "Hornet" was an inactive spectator, being unable to close, although Lawrence made every effort to bring his little cruiser into action. The "Hornet's" log continues:

At ½ past 4 beat to quarters and cleared ship for action. At 40 minutes past 4, the "President" commenced firing on the chase, which appeared to be a large English frigate, and still continued to carry a large press of sail; the "Congress," "U. States," "Hornet" and "Argus" under all sail, but cannot come up. At 6 the Commodore discontinued the action with the chase. Exchanged signals with the "Congress," but could not distinguish them.

This affair was the most important event of the cruise; the remainder of the voyage was a dreary succession of days and nights of constant drill and ceaseless vigilance, which was rewarded by only a few unimportant prizes.

July 3.

Captain Lawrence went on board the "Commodore."

July 5.

Discovered a difference of 2 points in the compasses. Shifted shot.

This note is interesting as showing that even at that day, the effect of iron on the compasses was not unsuspected.

On July 11th, the "Hornet" captured the English brig "Dolphin," and took out of her, ten Englishmen and two Americans. Lieutenant Connor was sent on board with six men and took the prize to the United States. Two weeks later the "Hornet" captured the letter of marque "John" of 16 guns, which was sent in under Midshipman Cox, and on August the 2nd, the active little ship took another prize, the brig "Argus."

At Sea, August 6.

At ½ past ten called all hands to witness punishment of James W. Smith for insolence, and Isaac Dale for drunkenness, with one dozen lashes each.

Boston Bay, August 31.

At 6 A. M. made out a large ship (at anchor) in Nantasket Roads. Cleared for action. (The stranger) proved to be the "Constitution." At 10:30 A. M. came to off Boston.

To appreciate the boldness of Rodgers's cruise it must be remembered that at the outbreak of the war, the popular idea of the English navy in the United States, was of a thousand sail of every description of war-vessel, with their bows turned westward dashing through the Atlantic Ocean to blockade the coast from Maine to Florida, with an impenetrable barrier of guns, piled tier upon tier in lofty frigates and line-of-battle ships. Against this dreaded Armada, the United States could oppose only seventeen sail! Was ever anything in the history of the world more audacious than the action of the Congress of the United States in throwing down the glove before the Kingdom of England? There was only one rational conclusion in the minds of hundreds of patriotic men, which was, that if the United States desired to save its young navy from instant destruction, it must not be allowed to go to sea. Indeed, this belief obtained credence even with the Administration at Washington to such an extent that an order was contemplated forbidding the men-of-war to leave port, and it was only through the earnest entreaties of Bainbridge and Charles Stewart, who happened to be in Washington, that the Navy Department refrained from locking the little navy securely in port.

It will be remembered that when war was threatened immediately after the "Chesapeake" affair, Jefferson's Cabinet did direct that the frigates be kept at the Navy Yards, and the same timid policy would have been adopted by Mr. Madison's Administration if it had not been for the protests of the naval officers. When De-

catur was asked how the navy could be most usefully employed, he replied under date of June 8, 1812:

"The plan which appears to me to be the best calculated for our little Navy would be to send them out with as large a supply of provisions as they can carry, distant from our coast and singly, or not more than two frigates in company, without giving them any specific instructions as to place of cruising, but to rely on the enterprise of the officers."

The mere suggestion of the proposition to lay the ships up was worse than absurd. It seemed as if the Government, amazed at its own temerity in declaring war against the most powerful nation of the world, had suddenly grown frightened at its own shadow, and after casting the die, was hesitating what to do next. Fortunately the wise counsel of the naval officers prevailed, and, given the opportunity, the navy soon proved not only to the American people, but to the powers of Europe, that in it at least, there was neither hesitation, nor wavering nor shadow of turning.

While Rodgers with his little squadron was scouring the Atlantic, Isaac Hull in the "Constitution," fought his great battle with the "Guerrière." Other victories followed rapidly, and when England heard the news of the capture of the "Java," the "London Pilot," in its issue of March 20, 1813, had this to say:

The public will learn with sentiments which we shall not presume to anticipate that a third British frigate has struck to an American. This is an occurrence that calls for serious reflection, this and the fact stated in our paper of yesterday, that Lloyd's list contains notices of upwards of five hundred British vessels captured in seven months by the Americans. *Five hundred merchantmen and three frigates.*

Can these statements be true; and can the English people

hear them unmoved? Any one who had predicted such a result of an American war this time last year would have been treated as a madman or a traitor. He would have been told that long ere seven months had elapsed, the American flag would be swept from the seas, the contemptible Navy of the United States annihilated, and their maritime arsenals rendered a heap of ruins.

Yet down to this moment not a single American frigate has struck her flag. They insult and laugh at our want of enterprise and vigor. They leave their ports when they please and return to them when it suits their convenience; they traverse the Atlantic; they beset the West India Islands; they advance to the very chops of the Channel; they parade along the coasts of South America; nothing chases, nothing intercepts, nothing engages them but to yield them triumph.

The Mistress of the Seas was beginning to wince. The veterans of Howe and Rodney, of Jervis and Nelson had for the first time met their equals on the ocean, and explain as they might and did, why their vessels were defeated, the stubborn fact remained that in this desperate game, they were losing all the tricks, and the knowledge of it was as bitter as gall and wormwood.

"Never," says McMaster, "since the days of the contest in the Valley of Elah, had there been a finer illustration of the everlasting truth that the race is not to the swift or the battle to the strong, but to him who by diligence deserves it."

Hull reached Boston the 30th of August, the day before the arrival of Rodgers's squadron. He had been compelled to burn the "Guerrière" at sea, as she had been too badly damaged in the engagement to make port. The defeat of the English frigate was hailed with wildest enthusiasm througnout the country. Congress at once passed resolutions of thanks to Hull and his men. Hull received a gold medal, and Charles Morris, the first lieutenant of the "Constitution" in the fight, was promoted

to the grade of post-captain, thus advancing him two grades, an unprecedented proceeding, except in the case of Stephen Decatur, and one which naturally caused heartburning and discontent among the Master Commandants of the navy, all of whom were his seniors.

Of all the forms of rewarding meritorious officers, this system is the worst, for the reason that it degrades other officers equally meritorious, who through no fault of their own have lacked opportunity.

Lawrence was too high-strung and too sensitive to accept this reduction of his own rank without vigorous protest. He had always felt that his services in the Tripolitan war had never been adequately recognized, and the promotion of Morris over his head was the culmination of this grievance which had rankled in his breast for many years, and which had been revived three years before by his removal from the "Wasp" to an inferior ship. His protest then was in vain; he now made up his mind, after consulting his old friends Commodore Rodgers and Captain Bainbridge, to lay his case before the Navy Department, which he did in the following letter, which is full of interest:

U. S. Ship "Hornet," Boston, 10th October, 1812.

Sir:—

I was much gratified this evening with a report of your return to Washington, and hasten to address you as the guardian of our rights, on a subject that nearly concerns me, as well as others of my rank in the service. It has for some time been currently reported in this city (and in fact I have seen two letters from Mr. Goldsborough that strengthen the report) that Lieutenant Morris was to be promoted to the rank of Captain in the Navy, in consequence of his conduct on board the "Constitution," in the late action with the "Guerrière."

I have the most exalted opinion of Lieutenant Morris—of

course can have no wish to detract from his merits,—but after the most mature consideration I really cannot discover wherein his exertions, as first lieutenant, entitle him to the rank to which, I understand, he is about to be promoted. The appointment of Master and Commandant, would in my opinion amply compensate him, and as far as I can judge, give universal satisfaction. I have consulted with Commodore Rodgers, who fully agrees with me in opinion, and has authorized me to make use of his name in my communication to you on this subject.

Commodore Bainbridge's sentiments on this occcasion, I presume you are acquainted with, as he informed me that he has written you. I am fearful you will consider my remonstrance improper, but on taking my feelings into consideration, you will make every allowance when I inform you that my friends coincide with me in thinking that the promotion of Lieutenant Morris to the grade I first mentioned, bears peculiarly hard on me, as I was first lieutenant with the now Commodore Decatur at the time he destroyed the frigate "Philadelphia," at that time, if not now, thought as much of, as the capture of the "Guerrière"; for which exploit he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and I rewarded with two months' pay.

After devoting nearly fifteen years of the prime of my life faithfully to the service of my country, without a furlough (excepting one for six weeks) you must not think hard of my having remonstrated thus plainly on Lieutenant Morris's promotion over me. I assure you I should regret extremely leaving the service at any period, particularly at this, but if outranked by an officer who has not greater claim than myself to promotion, I have no alternative. Trusting to the impartiality of your decision,

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES LAWRENCE.

Hon. Paul Hamilton.

Referring to this letter Washington Irving in a biographical sketch of Lawrence published in the "Portfolio," said, "The temperate and firm tone are very happily blended. It evinces an obvious struggle between delicacy and spirit arising from a desire to reconcile an anxious solicitude to save the feelings of a brother, with a fidelity,

at all events, to vindicate his own. This embarrassment is amiable as indicating a love of politeness even in the pursuit of justice. It shows a disposition to yield everything to manners but rights. He stops, in relation to Morris, at the precise point of propriety; contending not for a preference, but merely that his friend's 'claims to promotion were *not greater*' than his own; that the affair of the 'Philadelphia' was *thought as much of* as the affair of the 'Guerrière.' In regard to Hamilton the terms of the letter are not respectful merely; there is a degree of ardency in the expression. He appeals to the Secretary as to the guardian of his rights; and a more apologetical remonstrance was never received from a ward. He urges the countenance of Rodgers and of Bainbridge, and hints his resignation not as a threat to intimidate; this he knows to be absurd; but as an alternative to interest, suggesting as to a friend, whose return to Washington had gratified him much, that this object of his most extreme regret might not be forced upon him as inevitable, by the necessity of his condition."

It is probable that Lawrence's last paragraph destroyed the favorable impression that the rest of the letter could scarcely have failed to make; at all events the Secretary's reply seems to have been based on that unfortunate sentence:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Oct. 17, 1812.

SIR:—Your letter of the 10th inst. has reached me. The suggestion with which that letter concludes prevents an answer in detail, and confines me to the single observation that if (without cause) you leave the service of our country, there will still remain heroes and patriots to support the honor of its Flag. I am, sir, yours, PAUL HAMILTON.

Capt. Lawrence, U. S. Ship "Hornet."

Lawrence was deeply hurt and mortified by the Secretary's caustic reply, and his first impulse was to resign from the service. His friends, however, advised him not to act hastily, and pointed out that his ship was on the eve of sailing on another cruise, which might bring to him great opportunities. He was reminded that he had still another recourse, and was counseled to appeal to Congress. He accordingly prepared a memorial to the Senate, and, having forwarded it, he set about making his preparations for sea, and on the 27th of October, 1812, he sailed from Boston in the "Hornet" in company with the "Constitution" under Captain Bainbridge.

The same day that Lawrence wrote his memorial to the Senate he acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Hamilton's letter in these words:

I had the honor of addressing you a few days past on a subject wherein I was deeply interested, and this morning while under sailing orders, received your answer.

I regret that you should have considered my letter as indecorous; indeed, I am astonished that it should have been so considered, as it only contained a very respectful representation of my feelings in a cause of complaint in which I was seriously affected, and to you as the head of our Naval Establishment and the Guardian of our legal rights, I certainly thought I could address my complaint without giving offense; but your answer has taught me to know that I was mistaken, and that an officer in the Navy cannot solicit the Navy Department for redress without having his patriotism called into question.

In consequence of which, I have consulted my friends and have drawn up a memorial which will be presented to the Honorable the Senate of the U. States, and (I) shall be governed by their decision.

I really think that my holding a commission as Master Commandant, a *bar* to promotion inasmuch as I am constantly attached to a frigate, and should she be so fortunate as to capture a vessel of equal force, her first lieutenant, agreeable to the present arrangement, must be promoted over me.

Surely there was nothing left to the imagination in this manly letter. Lawrence had the courage of his conviction and never hesitated to break a lance even with the Navy Department if it opposed his ideas of right or justice. According to modern ethics, this letter was highly insubordinate, but fortunately for Lawrence, he lived before the days of Blue Books, and a Captain did and said pretty much as his own will and inclination dictated.

The result of the appeal to the Senate was that the confirmation of Morris's commission as Captain, was held up until the close of the session, and when it was acted upon, the precedence was given to Lawrence and Jacob Jones, both lineally senior to Morris, and both of whom would have lost numbers by Morris's promotion ahead of them as was first intended.

Charles Ludlow, who had been the first lieutenant of the "President" in her engagement with the "Little Belt," of the same rank and date as Lawrence, was not so fortunate in the result of his protest. Upon the receipt of a letter from the Navy Department identical with the one sent to Lawrence, Ludlow resigned his commission, without attempting to carry his case before a higher tribunal.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BLOCKADE OF THE "BONNE CITOYENNE."

THE unbroken successes of the navy and the consequent discouragement of the enemy changed the original policy of the Navy Department entirely, and now, so far from wanting to keep its ships tied up at home, it was decided to send the navy abroad to strike a blow at English commerce in the far off East Indies. The pendulum had swung to the other end of the arc.

With this object in view it was decided, in the fall of 1812, to organize a squadron under Commodore Bainbridge, composed of the "Constitution," "Hornet" and the "Essex."

Bainbridge had succeeded the gallant Hull in command of the "Constitution," and that ship and the "Hornet," as we have seen, began their preparations for the cruise at Boston.

The "Essex," under David Porter, was in the Delaware. She never joined the Flag. Orders were sent to Commodore Porter to rendezvous at Porto Praya, and, failing to meet the squadron there, to join at Fernando de Norohna. He sailed from Delaware Breakwater on the 28th of October, the day after Bainbridge and Lawrence left Boston, but he missed the squadron at both places indicated, and then, deciding not to return to the United States, he continued to the southward, and, rounding Cape Horn, made his famous cruise in the Pacific.

Bainbridge had been appointed to the "Constitution" through the generosity of Hull, who, having won glory enough for any man in his fight with the "Guerrière," generously yielded the command to his old brother in arms in order that he, too, might have a chance before the war ended.

The "Constitution" and "Hornet" sailed in company, as has been stated, the latter part of October, and on December 5th reached Fernando de Norohna. Ten days later the little squadron was off Bahia, or San Salvador, as it was then called, and Bainbridge sent in the "Hornet" to communicate with the American Consul, and to inquire for Captain Porter.

At anchor in the harbor, when Lawrence arrived there, was the English sloop-of-war the "Bonne Citoyenne," an old French prize, commanded by Captain Pitt Barnaby Greene. She was somewhat larger than the "Hornet" and was rated a 20-gun ship, her armament consisting of eighteen 32-pounders and two 9-pounders; she carried a crew of 150 men. She had on board about £50,000 in specie, and was bound for England from the Rio de la Plata. In her passage from Montevideo she had run ashore, and had just put in to San Salvador to land her cargo, and, James says, that at the time the American ships arrived off Bahia, she was hove down for repairs.

As soon as Lawrence made her out he determined, if possible, to fight her, but as he only remained in port three days himself, he communicated his wishes on the subject to Mr. Hill, the American Consul, and requested him to arrange for the proposed meeting.

On December 22nd Lawrence sailed the "Hornet" into Bahia harbor, and, without anchoring, passed around the shipping and then out to sea again, hoping that this overt challenge would be accepted by Captain Greene. The

act seemed to have provoked the anger of every one except Greene. The merchants of Bahia appealed to the Governor for protection, and the Governor, Conde Dos Arcos, addressed a letter to the American Consul, protesting against this hostile and warlike move in a neutral port, as a violation of neutrality calculated to injure trade. Mr. Hill answered diplomatically and at the same time wrote a letter to Commodore Bainbridge, suggesting that the utmost caution be observed by his ships in his dealings with the authorities on shore.

A few days after Lawrence had rejoined Bainbridge in the offing, the latter having decided to blockade the port, Mr. Hill met Captain Greene at a dinner party and informed him that Lawrence desired to meet him ship to ship. Greene replied that Lawrence was very bold to challenge a smaller ship than his own, especially as he was reinforced by the "Constitution."

The Consul naturally was not satisfied with this sarcastic response, and immediately made the challenge in official form through the British Consul General, to whom Captain Greene replied in the following letter:

"I hasten to acknowledge the favor of your communication, made to me this morning from Mr. Hill, Consul to the United States of America, on the subject of a challenge stated to have been offered through Mr. Hill, by Captain Lawrence of the United States sloop-of-war, 'Hornet,' to myself as commander of His Britannic Majesty's Ship, the 'Bonne Citoyenne,' anchored in this port; pledging his honor as well as that of Commodore Bainbridge, that no advantage shall be taken by the 'Constitution' or any other American vessel whatever on the occasion.

"I am convinced, Sir, if such encounter were to take place, the result could not long be dubious, and would terminate favorably to the ship which I have the honor to command; but that I am equally convinced that Commodore Bainbridge could not swerve so much from the paramount duty he owes to his country as to become an inactive spectator, and see a ship belonging to the

very squadron under his orders fall into the hands of an enemy; this reason operates powerfully on my mind for not exposing the 'Bonne Citoyenne' to a risk, upon terms so manifestly disadvantageous as those proposed by Commodore Bainbridge; indeed, nothing could give me greater satisfaction than complying with the wishes of Captain Lawrence; and I earnestly hope that chance will afford him an opportunity of meeting the 'Bonne Citoyenne' under different circumstances, to enable him to distinguish himself in the manner he is now so desirous of doing.

"I further assure you that my ship will at all times be prepared wherever she may be to repel any attacks made against her, and I shall also act offensively whenever I judge it proper to do so.

"I am, Sir, with great regard, etc.,

"PITT BARNABY GREENE, Captain."

As Captain Greene declined to accept the challenge Bainbridge decided to continue the blockade of the port, and for several weeks both ships cruised off the harbor, occasionally making a few unimportant captures.

James says when the news of the blockade of the "Bonne Citoyenne" reached London it created so much alarm that the underwriters raised the rates of Marine Insurance fifty per cent.

The affair excited widespread interest and criticism, both in England and the United States, and when Commodore Bainbridge returned home after his fight with the "Java," he made a report of all the circumstances of the blockade to the Secretary of the Navy.

U. S. FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION."

SIR:—I have the honor of enclosing to you a copy of a correspondence, which passed between the American and British Consuls at St. Salvadore, relative to a challenge offered by Captain Lawrence, commander of the United States ship, "Hornet," and refused by Captain Greene, commander of His B. M. ship, "Bonne Citoyenne," a vessel in size and force greater than the "Hornet."

Captain Greene's excuse, I have no doubt will be viewed by

those who see it in its proper light. He certainly was not warranted in questioning the sacred pledge I made to him.

The confidence I had in the gallant commander, the brave officers and the crew of the "Hornet" (all of whom exhibited the most ardent desire for the contest) induced me to take the responsibility of the pledge, from which I certainly should never have swerved; and the strongest proof I can give of that confidence, is leaving the "Hornet" four days together off the harbour in which the "Bonne Citoyenne" lay, and from which she could discover that the "Constitution" was not within forty miles of it; therefore, at any period Captain Greene could have been certain of contending with her alone; finally to prevent his having the least possible excuse, I went into the harbour of St. Salvadore and lay three days, where he could have detained me twenty-four hours on application to the Governor; these three days the "Hornet" remained off the harbour, and the "Bonne Citoyenne" continued safely at anchor.

On leaving the coast of Brazil, I left Captain Lawrence to watch her, and have no doubt should he fall in with her, that the result will be honour to his country and self.

Having stated to you, Sir, mere facts, I now beg leave to observe, that I consider the refusal of Captain Greene to meet the "Hornet" as a victory gained by the latter vessel. Our enemy, (who are brave) in the victories we have gained over them, have attributed them to our superior force when in fact the difference of force has not been comparable with the superiority of effect done by us, but in the present instance they have not the least shade of such colouring, for the "Bonne Citoyenne" is a larger vessel and of greater force in guns and men than the "Hornet," but the high state of discipline and excellent order which the "Hornet" is in, makes me feel confident of a favorable result in the issue of an action between them.

Permit me, Sir, to take this opportunity of expressing to you the great satisfaction I have received from Captain Lawrence's conduct in every instance since being under my command, and I respectfully recommend him particularly to your notice as a most meritorious officer.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

WM. BAINBRIDGE.

Hon. Secretary of the Navy,
City Washington.

When Bainbridge took the "Constitution" into the harbor of Bahia in order that Captain Greene might have no excuse for not fighting the "Hornet," so far as the "Constitution" was concerned, Lawrence acted as pilot. Just as they were entering the harbor movements on board the "Bonne Citoyenne" indicated that she was getting ready to come out. Lawrence at once jumped into his own boat, which he had kept alongside the "Constitution," and hastened back to the "Hornet" and cleared her for action. But if Captain Greene had decided to come out, he changed his mind, for the "Bonne Citoyenne" remained at anchor.

Lawrence's challenge bore the official endorsement of Bainbridge that, "If Captain Greene wishes to try equal force, *I pledge my honour* to give him an opportunity of being out of the way or not interfering."

But it does not seem reasonable to suppose that any American officer would have laid idly by and watched the capture of the "Hornet," had the tide of battle set against her. As James says of Bainbridge, "It was more than his head was worth." And Bainbridge himself seems to have realized this, for after his failure to induce the "Bonne Citoyenne" to leave port, by anchoring the "Constitution" in the harbor, he cleared from the coast altogether on the 26th of December, leaving the "Hornet" to blockade alone, and three days later, on the 29th of December, at nine o'clock in the morning, in latitude 13° 06′ South and longitude 31° West, he fell in with the English frigate "Java," and won one of the most brilliant sea fights of history.

After the battle, the "Constitution" returned to Bahia to land and parole her prisoners. In the afternoon of the 3rd of January she was sighted by the "Hornet" standing in from sea, and the story of how the news of the

great fight was communicated to her consort is thus told in the "Hornet's" log-book:

"At ¾ past 1 the Commodore signalled to speak (then) private signal for the Captain to repair on board. At ¼ past 2 tacked ship to N^{d} and E^{d}. At ½ past 2 the Commodore made the signal to speak. At ¾ past 2 the Commodore made the private signal for the Captain to repair on board. Tacked ship to the S^{d} and W^{d}; in royals, down stay sails and flying jib, up courses, and backed the main top sail yard. The Captain went on board the Commodore. A few minutes after the boat returned with the information of the engagement between the U. S. Frigate "Constitution" and the "Java" Frigate and the destruction of the latter. Filled away, tacked and ran alongside the Commodore and gave her three cheers."

What a volume of history is condensed into these prosaic lines!

No officer of the navy stood higher in the service than William Bainbridge, but his career had in some respects been unlucky. In the French war, when in command of the "Retaliation," a prize captured by the elder Decatur, his ship had been recaptured, and in the war with Tripoli, through no fault of his own, he had lost the "Philadelphia"; but his hardest experience had been with the Bey of Algiers, when he was compelled to hoist a foreign flag over an American warship, and by carrying the Bey's presents to the Sultan, tacitly acknowledge the arrogant assertion of that pirate: "You pay me tribute, therefore you are my slaves, and I have the right to order you as I see fit."

When the "Hornet" sighted the "Constitution" coming in from her victory it was noticed that she was accompanied by a full rigged ship. This proved to be the "William," which had been captured by the "Java" two weeks before, and was now manned by a prize crew of twenty men from the English frigate. When the "Hor-

net" was sighted the "William" attempted to escape, but was recaptured by the "Hornet."

For several days Lawrence was in communication with the "Constitution," which, crowded with prisoners and the dead and wounded, had anchored in the harbor of Bahia. During this time Lieutenant Shubrick, of the "Constitution," exchanged with Lieutenant Ballard, and became first lieutenant of the "Hornet"; he had served with Lawrence before, and it was at the latter's urgent request that he had returned to duty under his old commander. He was an officer of unusual ability, and had had a most enviable career, which merits more than passing mention.

Shubrick entered the navy in 1806, and had had the singular good fortune to participate in almost every important event that had occurred in the navy since then. He was a midshipman on the "Chesapeake" when she surrendered to the "Leopard," and was in the "Constitution" in her memorable escape from Broke's squadron; he was in the fight with the "Guerrière," and had just participated in the action with the "Java"; now he was destined to play a conspicuous part in another famous battle. His brilliant career closed in 1815, when he was lost at sea while commanding the "Epervier." Of him it may be said, as Carlyle said of La Perouse, "The brave Navigator goes and returns not; the Seekers search far seas for him in vain. He has vanished into blue Immensity and only some mournful mysterious shadow of him hovers long in all heads and hearts."

Bainbridge's plans had been entirely changed by the failure of Porter to meet him, and being unwilling to call the "Hornet" off the blockade of the "Bonne Citoyenne" he decided to abandon the East Indian cruise, and to return home alone.

At that time captains in the navy were a law unto themselves. The orders of the Navy Department seemed to have been obeyed only so far as it suited their discretion, or even their pleasure. It is almost incomprehensible to us, who are surrounded by entirely different conditions, to understand how little regard was often paid to positive orders. There are times, of course, when a blind obedience is worse than disobedience, and the question to obey or disobey is one that has often confronted military leaders. Prescott reminds us that every man to a certain extent may claim the right to exercise his discretion, "Since to execute a commission which circumstances show must certainly defeat the object for which it was designed would be absurd, but it requires sagacity to determine the accidents of such a contingency, and moral courage to assume the responsibility to act upon it. Such a crisis is the severest test of character. To dare to disobey from a paramount sense of duty is a paradox a little soul can hardly comprehend.*

That Bainbridge ever bothered his head with any such thoughts is indeed most unlikely. He simply made up his mind not to continue to the East Indies where the Navy Department expected him to go, but to return to the United States. He sailed from Bahia on the 6th of January and arrived with the "Constitution" in Boston on the evening of the 15th of February, 1813.

The day that Bainbridge sailed for home, Lawrence captured a small English schooner named the "Ellen," loaded with dry goods. When he first sighted her she was towing a small boat astern, running close to her. Lawrence hailed the schooner, and ordered her to send the boat to the "Hornet." This order was repeated sev-

* Conquest of Peru.

eral times without any attention being paid to it, whereupon the "Hornet" fired into her and the schooner then hauled down her colors. Lieutenant Connor was sent to take charge and remained on board during the night, but the next day Lawrence himself went on board to inspect his prize, and, finding that she was of some value, he gave the command of her to his sailing master with orders to take her to Newcastle, Delaware, where she was afterward sold for $32,675.

After the departure of the "Constitution" the "Hornet" continued on the blockade alone for nearly two weeks, and Captain Greene then had ample opportunity to accept the challenge, had he been so inclined, but he preferred to remain in port. James, after stating that "the characteristic cunning of the Americans had turned the incident of the blockade greatly to their advantage," excuses Captain Greene for not engaging the "Hornet" in these words: "Where was the guarantee against recapture, which always accompanies a serious proposal of this sort, when a stronger force, belonging to either party is to preserve a temporary neutrality. The bait therefore did not take; the specie remained safe; and the American officers were obliged to content themselves with all the benefit they could reap from making a boast of the circumstances. This they did, and to the present hour the refusal of the 'Bonne Citoyenne' to meet the 'Hornet' stands recorded in the American Naval Archives as a proof of the former's dread, although the 'superior in force,' of engaging the latter."

Thus he absolutely ignored the fact that the very best guarantee against recapture had been given by Bainbridge when he sailed for the United States, and that for eighteen days Lawrence waited alone off Bahia, hoping that Captain Greene would decide to fight him.

On the 24th of January the "Montagu," a large ship of seventy-four guns and flying the flag of Rear Admiral Manly Dixon, arrived from the southward, and raised the blockade. Lawrence only escaped capture by running in toward the port, and at night standing out to sea again, thus succeeding in eluding his more powerful, but less skillful opponent.

It is important to consider the circumstances of this blockade, for the remembrance of it, and the impressions that it made upon Lawrence had a very definite influence upon his actions when six months later the conditions were exactly reversed, and he himself was blockaded by an English ship of superior force. He criticised Captain Greene severely for not accepting his challenge, and notwithstanding the numerous apologies that James and other English writers have made for Greene, there is every reason to believe that Lawrence's opinion was correct, and that the English captain was less concerned for the safety of the treasure that was on board his ship than he was for the safety of his ship itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ACTION WITH THE "PEACOCK."

You thought our Frigates were but few, that Yankees could not fight,
Until bold Hull, "Guerrière" took and banished her from sight.
Our "Wasp" then took your "Frolic," you nothing said to that.
Your "Poictiers" being on our coast, of course you took her back.
'Twas then your "Macedonian" no finer ship did swim,
Decatur knocked her gilt off, and he sent her in.
The "Java" by a Yankee ship was sunk, you all must know
The "Peacock," too, in all her pride, by Lawrence down did go.
Oh! Johnny Bull, my Jo John, your "Peacock" keep at home,
And ne'er let British seamen on a "Frolic" hither come.
For we've "Hornets" and we've "Wasps," John, as you scarcely know,
Have stingers in their tails, Oh, Johnny Bull, my Jo.
(Song of the Period.)

After his escape from the "Montagu," Lawrence stood to the northward, intending to lay across the trade routes which intersect off the coast of New Guinea, and thence run through the Caribbean Sea and back to the United States.

On the 4th of February, 1813, when off Pernambuco, Lawrence captured the English brig "Resolution" bound from Rio to Maranham, armed with ten guns and loaded with coffee, fustic and about $23,000 in specie. After transferring his prisoners, taking out the silver, and re-

plenishing his stores and water tanks, he destroyed his prize and then continued his cruise to the northward.

Standing around Cape St. Roque he cruised for several days in the Brazil current, which here sweeps the coast of South America. The next ten days were passed in cruising on and off the coast of British Guiana chasing every sail that appeared on the horizon until the morning of the 24th of February, when he sighted a small English brig which he chased into the shoals of the Demarara River, approaching so close to land that the masts of the vessels at anchor in the Berbice River were plainly visible. While chasing this vessel he sighted a small English man-of-war brig at anchor outside of the bar. The latter was the "Espiegle," carrying sixteen 32-pounder carronades and two sixes, commanded by Captain John Taylor of the Royal Navy. While beating around Caroband Bank, to get at the "Espiegle" the masthead look-out on the "Hornet" reported a strange sail on the weather quarter. This proved to be H. B. M. Brig Sloop "Peacock," Captain William Peake, which had gone to sea that morning at ten o'clock from the "Espiegle's" anchorage, and was then returning to her old berth.

The weather at this time was clear and fine, the sea smooth, and the wind blowing a six-knot breeze from the northeastward. As soon as the "Peacock" was discovered Lawrence tacked ship to the southward and eastward. As the ships approached each other the "Peacock" hoisted her colors at 4:25, and at 4:30 the "Hornet" beat to quarters, and cleared for action, hauling close by the wind in order to get the weather gauge. Lawrence did not hoist his own colors until ten minutes past five, and when the "Peacock" was only a few hundred yards away. At the same time he hoisted his colors he tacked

THE HORNET AND THE PEACOCK

again and stood for the enemy. At 5:25 the two vessels passed each other on opposite tacks and so close that their broadsides were exchanged within pistol shot. Immediately after passing, the "Peacock" wore ship, and kept off before the wind firing her entire starboard broadside at the "Hornet" as she did so. Lawrence, following close upon the "Peacock," put his own helm up, and ran his ship close under the starboard quarter of the "Peacock," keeping her in that position where he was comparatively free from the enemy's fire, but at the same time maintaining such a heavy and well directed fire himself that in fifteen minutes the "Peacock" surrendered, hoisting her ensign Union down in the fore rigging. A few minutes afterward her mainmast went by the board.

From the deck of the "Hornet" Lawrence saw that the "Peacock" was literally cut to pieces. Immediately after she surrendered he lowered a boat in charge of Lieutenant Shubrick, and sent him on board the brig. There was a very heavy sea running, and Shubrick was gone some time. When he returned, he brought with him the first lieutenant of the Englishman, and reported the capture to be H. B. M. Brig "Peacock"; that her Captain had been killed in the latter part of the action; that a number of the crew were killed and wounded, and that the vessel was in a sinking condition, having already six feet of water in her hold.

The "Hornet's" boats were immediately lowered and sent to the rescue, in charge of Lieutenant David Connor and Midshipman Benjamin Cooper, and then by Lawrence's orders both ships were immediately anchored.

While some of the "Hornet's" sailors were engaged in transferring the prisoners into the boats, including the wounded, others were making every exertion to keep the "Peacock" afloat by plugging shot holes, and throwing

her guns overboard, but in spite of their efforts the water gained rapidly on the pumps, and in a short time the ship suddenly sank in five and a half fathoms of water, carrying with her thirteen of her own crew and three of the "Hornet's." Connor, Cooper and the remainder of Lawrence's sailors saved themselves by jumping into a boat that was lying on the booms of the "Peacock." Four of the English sailors who were carried down with the ship succeeded in gaining the foretop, which remained out of water, and were afterward taken off by the "Hornet's" boat.

On board the "Peacock" were three Americans, one of whom was killed during the action; the other two were taken on board the "Hornet," and one of them, strangely enough, proved to be a cousin of Captain Lawrence's wife. These men told Captain Lawrence that when they saw that a battle between the "Peacock" and "Hornet" was inevitable they requested Captain Peake to allow them to go below that they might not fight against their own people. The request was refused, and they were forced to take stations at the guns.

Just before the ship sank four of the prisoners managed to get into the "Peacock's" stern boat unobserved, and succeeded in getting away, but as the boat had been much damaged during the action, it is probable that she foundered before she reached the coast.

During the entire action, according to Lawrence, the "Espiegle" lay about six miles in-shore, and could be seen from the decks of both vessels. This afterward became a matter of much controversy, and will be noticed again later on.

Apprehensive, however, that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, Lawrence made every endeavor to prepare his ship for a second action, and by nine

THE CAPTURE OF THE PEACOCK BY CAPTAIN LAWRENCE

From an old print in possession of W. C. Crane, Esq.

(The positions should be reversed as the Hornet fought on the starboard quarter of the Peacock.)

o'clock that night all his boats were stowed, new sails were bent, and the "Hornet" was completely ready for another engagement. At two o'clock the next morning she got under way and started on her long voyage for the United States.

The exact number of killed on board the "Peacock" was never known. Lieutenant Shubrick, when he went on board, found the body of Captain Peake, and four men on the deck. Of the prisoners transferred to the "Hornet," the Master, one midshipman, the Carpenter, the Captain's clerk, and twenty-nine blue jackets were wounded; most of them severely. Three of the wounded died on board the "Hornet." The total loss of the "Peacock," then, including the nine who were drowned when the ship went down, and the four who were probably lost in the boat, was twenty-one. The "Hornet's" loss was trifling in comparison. One man, John Place, was killed during the action, Samuel Colson and Joseph Dalyrimple were slightly wounded, two men, George Coughlin and Lewis Todd, were severely burned by the explosion of a carronade, from the effects of which Todd died a few days afterward. This makes the "Hornet's" loss, including the three drowned on the "Peacock," four killed and two wounded. The "Hornet's" rigging and sails were much cut up, but only two of her spars were injured, and these slightly. One shot passed through the foremast, and one struck the bowsprit. Her hull escaped almost entirely.

The morning after the action a general muster was held on the "Hornet," and it was found that she had on board a total of two hundred and seventy-seven souls, including the crew of the American Brig "Hunter," of Portland, which had been captured a few days before by the "Peacock."

The crew of the "Hornet" had been on two-thirds allowance of provisions for several weeks, and as she now had only thirty-four hundred gallons of water on board, it became necessary to reduce the allowance to three pints for each man, and it was probably owing to this fact that Captain Lawrence determined to make the best of his way to the United States.

In his report to the Secretary of the Navy, Lawrence says:

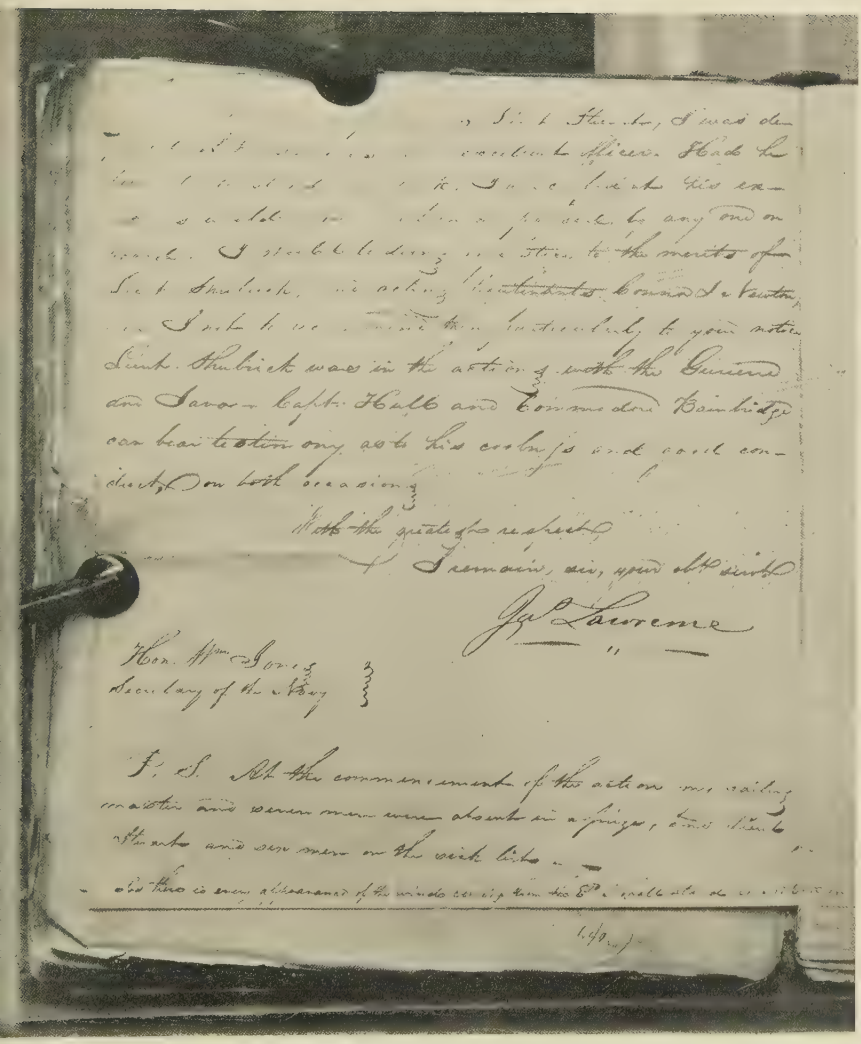
The "Peacock" was deservedly styled one of the finest vessels of her class in the British Navy. I should judge her to be about the tonnage of the "Hornet." Her beam was greater by five inches, but her extreme length not so great by four feet. She mounted sixteen, four and twenty pdr. carronades, two long nines, one twelve pdr. carronade on her topgallant forecastle as a shifting gun, and one four or six pdr. and two swivels mounted aft. I find by her Quarter-Bill that her crew consisted of 134 men, four of whom were absent in a prize.

The cool and determined conduct of my officers and crew during the action, and their almost unexampled exertions afterwards entitle them to my warmest acknowledgments, and I beg leave most earnestly to recommend them to the notice of the Government.

By the indisposition of Lieutenant Stewart I was deprived of the services of an excellent officer. Had he been able to stand on deck, I am confident his exertions would not have been surpassed by any one on board.

I should be doing injustice to Lieutenant Shubrick and Acting Lieutenants Connor and Newton were I not to recommend them particularly to your notice. Lieutenant Shubrick was in the actions with the "Guerrière" and "Java"; Captain Hull and Commodore Bainbridge can bear testimony as to his coolness and good conduct on both occasions.

In a postscript Lawrence adds that at the commencement of the action his Sailing Master and seven men were absent in a prize, and that Lieutenant Walter Stewart and six men were on the sick-list.



FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN LAWRENCE

Although the "Hornet" was somewhat larger and carried a heavier battery than the "Peacock," the disparity in force does not account for the excessive punishment the latter received. For some reason the 32-pounder carronade battery assigned to the "Peacock" had been replaced by 24-pounders. Lawrence states that of these she had sixteen, also two long nine-pounders, and one shifting 12-pounder in the forecastle, and one 4 or 6-pounder aft. Disregarding the two swivels, which were probably more ornamental than useful, this gives her a total broadside of eleven guns (assuming that the after gun was shifting) throwing 217 or 219 pounds of metal. In regard to her crew, James states that at the time of the action it was composed of 110 men and 12 boys; according to Lawrence four of her crew were away in her prize; the discrepancy between this total of 126 and the total number of 134 shown on the Quarter-Bill, which in all probability was not corrected to date, may be readily accounted for by casualties incident to service.

In the following April, Lieutenant F. A. Wright, the first lieutenant of the "Peacock," in a letter to the New York "Commercial Advertiser," stated that the armament of the "Peacock" was twenty-four 6-pounder carronades, two long 6-pounders, and that her crew was only 122 men. He further states that the "Espiegle" was not visible from the look-out at the mastheads for some time previous to the action, and further that the "Hornet" fought with a crew of 170 men. Lieutenant David Connor, of the "Hornet," replied to these statements in the same paper, that he had boarded the "Peacock" immediately after the surrender, and that he had found 139 men; that the "Hornet" had mustered 135 men fit for duty, and that furthermore the "Espiegle" was plainly visible from the "Hornet's" deck during the action. In a subsequent letter

Wright acknowledged his error in regard to the "Peacock's" battery, and it may therefore be assumed that his other statements were equally subject to revision:

COMPARATIVE FORCES.

	Tonnage.	Guns.		Metal.	Crew.
		Total	Broad'e.		
"Hornet"	480	20	10	274	135
"Peacock"	477	20	11	217	122

The "Peacock" had been in commission since August, 1807, "with a crew that, owing to the nature of their employment, must have almost forgotten that they belonged to a man-of-war. She had long been the admiration of the numerous visitors for the tasteful arrangement of her deck, and had obtained in consequence the name of 'the yacht.' The breechings of the carronades were lined with white canvas, the shot lockers shifted from their usual places, and nothing could exceed in brilliancy the polish upon the traversing bars and elevating screws. The firing of the 'Hornet' was admirable and proved that her men, to the credit of Captain Lawrence and his officers, had been taught what use to make of their guns."*

The battle was fought at such close range that it would seem impossible that any shot fired could miss. Under such conditions of a sea fight, the guns should be laid horizontal and fired as rapidly as possible in broadside, but if the crew are not sufficiently drilled for broadside firing, then the gun-captains must fire at will, that is, independently of each other, and as soon as they are ready and the guns are pointed.

The "Peacock" was defeated simply because she did not know how to use her guns, and her fate is a warning to all who would sacrifice drill to brightwork. It is true

* James.

that the "Hornet" was damaged in the rigging and sails, but no serious injury was inflicted on the masts, while on the other hand the "Peacock" was hulled repeatedly, and in less than a quarter of an hour was reduced to a sinking condition. It is evident from this that the "Peacock" shot in a haphazard way, with no definite idea of what to aim at, or how to train her guns, ignorant of the main object, which was to kill the enemy by sweeping her decks, and at the same time to send their solid shot home "between wind and water" and as far below the copper line as possible.

The "Hornet's" wounds were all aloft and the only man killed was in the mizzen top; it is said that even her pennant, which flies at the main truck, the highest point of the ship, was shot away at the first fire, but this can scarcely be true.

Not only was the action marked by wretched marksmanship on the part of the British, and an entire absence of what is now called fire-control, but also by the worst possible seamanship. This will be seen from the diagram which shows how the "Peacock" deliberately lost the weather gauge, which with ordinary skill she could have easily maintained.

It may be asked why Lawrence did not attack the "Espiegle" the following day. On this subject Rear Admiral J. A. Greer, U. S. Navy, says:

> The full complement of the "Peacock" was 134; of these eight were away in a prize, five were killed and nine were drowned, thus leaving 112 who were removed to the "Hornet." There were then seventy-nine able bodied men who had to be looked out for by the crew of the "Hornet," which after the action, consisted of 122 men fit for duty.
>
> The "Espiegle" was armed with sixteen 32-pounder carronades and two long nines, which was the same battery as the "Hornet" excepting two 32-pounders. Furthermore, the "Hornet" was

short of water, and therefore, under the circumstances, I think Captain Lawrence was right in not seeking another engagement. He had all to keep and could not risk another action with an almost equal foe. The question should be: Why did not "L'Espiegle" go to the assistance of her comrade, the "Peacock"?

The latter question was asked by the general court-martial which tried Captain Taylor for his conduct on this occasion, and found him guilty of not exercising his crew at great guns.

This action attracted a great deal of attention, as the first sloop duel of the war, and it was hailed with joy and enthusiasm throughout the United States as a glorious harbinger of the coming year. Lawrence's name was on every lip, and from that time he became dear to the hearts of every American. Fortunately for him he did not outlive the burst of applause, a fate which heroes do not always escape.

The "Hornet" lost only one man killed in action, but three went down in the "Peacock," so that it was tersely said by some one that "Lawrence had lost more in saving the enemy than in defeating them." The action was spoken of by one naval officer as being "unsurpassed in brilliancy of design and boldness of execution." Even the English acknowledged the matchless skill of the "Hornet." Said the first lieutenant of H. B. M. Ship "Acasta":

"It is useless for any of our ships to fight them (the Americans) single handed, for they are a *dead nip.*"

A British officer in Halifax said: "If the 'Peacock' had been used as a target for a fleet to fire at, she could not have gone down quicker." Still another described the fight as a master-piece of American gunnery.

On the passage to the United States the prisoners on board the "Hornet" were treated with every respect and

consideration that courtesy and humanity could suggest, and the blue-jackets vied with their officers in caring for the defeated British. The crew of the "Hornet" contributed to each man of the "Peacock" a pair of trousers, a jacket and two shirts, while the officers took their late foes into their mess and treated them as if they were guests. So impressed were the British officers that when they were taken out of the ship at New York, the officers addressed the following letter to Captain Lawrence, which he must have received with great gratification:

New York, March 27th, 1813.

Sir:—We, the surviving officers of His Britannic Majesty's late brig, "Peacock," beg leave to return you our grateful acknowledgments for the kind attention and hospitality we experienced during the time we remained on the "Hornet."

So much was done to alleviate the distressing and uncomfortable situation in which we were placed when received on board the sloop you command, that we cannot better express our feelings than by saying "we ceased to consider ourselves prisoners," and everything that friendship could dictate was adopted by you, and the officers of the "Hornet" to remedy the inconvenience we would otherwise have experienced from the unavoidable loss of our property and clothes by the sudden sinking of the "Peacock."

Permit us then, Sir, impressed as we are with a grateful sense of your kindness for ourselves, and the other officers and ship's company to return to you and the officers of the "Hornet" our sincere thanks, which we shall feel obliged if you will communicate to them in our name, and believe us to remain, with a high sense of the kind offices you have rendered us,

Your very humble servants,

F. A. Wright, 1st lieutenant,
C. E. Lambert, 2nd lieutenant,
Edward Lott, Master,
J. Whittaker, Surgeon,
F. Donnithorn, Purser.

James Lawrence, Esq.,
Commander U. States sloop, "Hornet."

An interesting story of one of the prisoners, illustrating Lawrence's humanity and kindness of heart, was widely circulated in the papers at the time of his death.

After the engagement, the British surgeon amputated the arm of one of the English sailors, but as the man grew worse, the Englishman called in consultation the "Hornet's" surgeon, Dr. Charles Cotton, who advised a second amputation. The man when told this positively refused to submit, unless Captain Lawrence would be present at the operation, and in the event of its proving fatal would promise to act as a father to his little son, who was also a prisoner on the "Hornet."

Captain Lawrence consented, and the stump was re-amputated. The man eventually recovered.

It requires no vivid imagination to depict the discomforts of every soul in the crowded little "Hornet," as with all sail stretched to the tautest bolt rope, she speeded on her northward course impatiently bearing within her wooden walls the news of her victory. She arrived at Holmes' Hole, in Vineyard Sound, on the 19th of March, and Lawrence detailed one of his officers as bearer of despatches and started him on his journey to Washington with his official report of the action with the "Peacock." At 8 P. M. the next day Lawrence got under way and proceeded with the "Hornet" to New York through Long Island Sound and Hell Gate, and arrived at the Navy Yard in the afternoon of the 24th of March, 1813.

Immediately after the "Hornet's" arrival in the East River the United States Marshal came on board, and while he was taking account of the prisoners two of them slipped over the side and attempted to swim ashore, but they were quickly picked up and taken back to the ship. The next day the British officers were paroled, but the

men were transferred to Fort Gansevoort, on the North River, near what is now West Twenty-third street.

So ended an eventful cruise of one hundred and forty-five days, during which Lawrence had captured one ship, two brigs, one schooner and one man-of-war—an unparalleled record. On the eve of sailing from Boston with Bainbridge, a newspaper, referring to his remonstrance against Morris's promotion, spoke of him as being "as good an officer as any in the service," and later, when the news of his blockade of the "Bonne Citoyenne" was received in the United States, another paper spoke of him as "a charming fellow." But when it was known what a success he had made of his ship, and with what skill and energy he had conducted the cruise, his fame passed far beyond description by empty phrases and colorless adjectives, and he became one of the heroes of the day.

What especially appealed to the people was his spirited, dashing fight with the "Peacock," ending in her total destruction in less time than it takes to tell the story. "My clerk," said Lawrence, "reported the time of the action as eleven minutes, but I thought fifteen minutes was short enough, so I made it that in my report."

Thus he added his name to the roll of honor which the new naval war had created, and which was daily growing in length. "Our naval heroes," wrote a correspondent of the New York "Herald," referring to the action with the "Peacock," "at whose head stands Hull, followed by Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge and Lawrence, all, however equally covered with glory and merit, have secured the admiration of the country. *They have established our naval character.* . . . . we hail these splendid achievements as a new epoch in our national character."

CHAPTER IX.

ORDERS TO THE "CHESAPEAKE."

LAWRENCE, who had always been a popular officer, became now the hero of the people and the idol of the navy. At every wardroom table, "Captain Jim," as he was affectionately called in the service, was the toast of the hour, and the story of his "fifteen minutes' fight" with the "Peacock" was told and retold in all the papers and magazines of the day.

"Everywhere throughout the land," says Lossing, "the name of Lawrence was honored; and as usual after a victory, Art and Song made contributions to the garland of praise with which the people delighted to crown the chief victor."

On May 25th President Madison, in his message to Congress, referred to Lawrence and his victory in the following words:

"In the continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by Captain Lawrence and his companions in the 'Hornet' sloop of war, with a celerity so unexampled and a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the 'Hornet' as to claim for the conquerors the highest praise and the full recompense provided by Congress in preceding cases."

But Lawrence himself never received any benefit from Congress. The bill authorizing twenty-five thousand

LAWRENCE MEDAL PRESENTED BY CONGRESS

Reproduced by permission of J. S. Barnes, Esq., from his bronze replica of the original medal.

dollars to be distributed as prize money "to Captain James Lawrence, late of the sloop-of-war 'Hornet,' his officers and crew or their widows and children," was not approved until July 13, 1813, more than a month after his death, and the resolution bestowing medals was not passed until a year later.

Thus Fate denied him in his life the gratification of national recognition. That was a posthumous honor. If, however, Congress was slow to act, there were others who were quick to applaud his splendid success.

He was made an honorary member of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, and subscriptions were started in New York and Philadelphia for the purpose of presenting to him a handsome plate.

On the 31st of March, the Common Council of New York passed the following resolutions:

The Common Council of the City of New York, being fully convinced that a Navy establishment is important to the protection of our commerce and to the defence of our country; and viewing the late capture of the British sloop-of-war, "Peacock," as reflecting the brightest honors on the intrepidity and skill of Captain Lawrence, his officers and crew; and being at all times solicitous to offer the meed of their applause to those of our gallant officers who thus eminently deserve it—they avail themselves of the present occasion to present the thanks of the citizens of New York to the officers and crew who achieved this splendid victory.

RESOLVED: That the freedom of the city be presented to Captain Lawrence, together with a piece of plate with appropriate devices and inscription, and that his honour, the Recorder, be requested to forward the same with a copy of this Resolution.

RESOLVED: That in testimony of the high sense which the Common Council entertain of the conduct of the crew of the United States sloop-of-war, "Hornet," by the capture of His Britannic Majesty's sloop-of-war, "Peacock," in the unexampled short period of fifteen minutes, that the Common Council will give a public dinner to the gallant crew of the United States sloop-of-war, "Hornet."

The dinner was accordingly given to Lawrence and his men, and the following interesting account of it is taken from the New York "Evening Post":

On Tuesday, April 6th, agreeable to a vote of the Common Council, a dinner was given to Captain Lawrence of the "Hornet" and his gallant crew. The dinner was given at that splendid edifice, Washington Hall. It is the first entertainment that has been given in that establishment, and it was remarked as a pleasing and appropriate circumstance that the first opening of the Hall should be devoted to a festival in honor of the victories of our Navy.

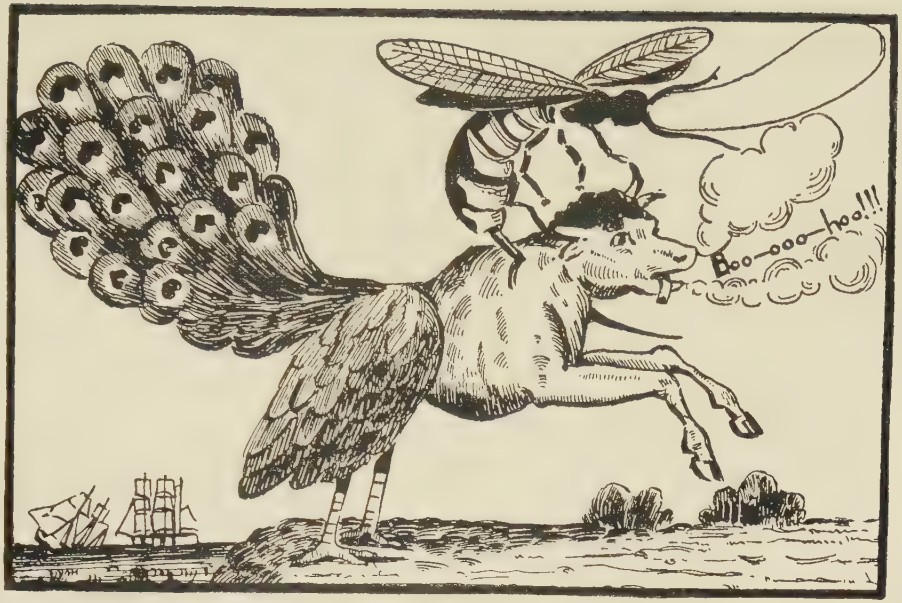
The seamen came in barges from their ship and landed at White Hall at half past two o'clock. They marched, attended by the elegant band of the 11th Regt. of the First Brigade of Artillery, through Pearl St., and Broadway to Washington Hall, cheered in every street they passed by the huzzas of their grateful and admiring countrymen.

At half past three o'clock the petty officers, seamen and marines sat down to a most beautiful dinner, prepared for them in the Ball Room, the most splendid room on the continent.

Paintings representing the victories of Hull, Decatur, Jones and Bainbridge decorated the walls, and over the chair of the presiding officer was an elegant view by Holland of the late brilliant action of Captain Lawrence in the "Hornet" with the British sloop "Peacock." The table was decorated with a great variety of flags, with emblems appropriate to the occasion, painted by a young gentleman of this city.

After the meats were removed, a visit was made them by the members of the Common Council, accompanied by Captain Lawrence. At the sight of their gallant commander they rose, cheered him with three times three, in a style that evinced it came from their hearts. The Boatswain of the "Hornet" presided at the entertainment, and though the bottle, the song and the toast passed in jocund glee, yet the most perfect order and decorum were observed.

In one of the dining rooms on the first floor a dinner was prepared for the Corporation. Among the guests were Captain Lawrence and all his officers, the Commanders of the ships of war



CARTOON: "THE HORNET AND THE PEACOCK"

on this station, the Judges of the Courts and Colonel Swift, Commander of the Corps of Engineers.

The room was decorated with various emblematic paintings by Mr. Holland, descriptive of our naval victories and complimentary to our gallant commanders who achieved them—the viands of the table and its ornaments were in a style of comfort and elegance that did credit to Mr. Croker.

In the evening the theatre was brilliantly illuminated, and the proprietor having politely set apart the pit for the gallant tars of the "Hornet," they went from their dinner table to the theatre at six o'clock; the piece set for the evening being of a naval character the men were highly amused and entertained.

Captain Lawrence and the Corporation Committee of Arrangements visited the theatre also, and on Captain Lawrence's entering, the jolly tars again gave him three welcome huzzas in which the audience most heartily joined them.

The invitations to the dinner were issued by Augustus H. Lawrence, Elisha W. King and Peter Mesier, the Corporation Committee. At the top of the card was a wood cut of a naval battle drawn and engraved by Dr. Alexander Anderson, who died only about twenty years ago. The "War," describing the dinner says, "Captain Lawrence with General Van Rensselaer and General Morton and a number of other official characters, filled one of the side boxes, and made the house ring with huzzas on their appearance."

Although Lawrence now had "too much rank" as the saying is, to remain with the "Hornet," he was as loath to give her up, as Nelson was to leave the "Agamemnon." He had been in command of her a year and a half, and in that time ties and associations had been formed and cemented by the stirring events of the cruise, that could not be lightly broken. Hoping that he might be allowed to continue in her, Lawrence wrote the following letter

to the Department proposing a cruise to the northward and eastward, which was to have for its object the enemy's fisheries on the Banks, and along the coast of Labrador.

U. S. Ship "Hornet," New York, April 26, 1813.

Sir:—

I have the honor to inform you that the "Hornet" will be ready for sea by Monday, with the exception of ten or fifteen men. As a number of the old hands evince a disposition to re-ship, I trust that will not be a bar to her sailing should you determine to send her out immediately. If I am to retain the command, and you should not have already planned out a cruise for her, I take the liberty of suggesting the two following, one of which I hope will meet your approbation. The first is to run to the north'd with the view of intercepting the outward bound Quebec Ships, thence off the Orkney's and cruise until the last of June; from thence run to the westward and scour the coast of Greenland and return to the U. S. in all September. I am confident, accompanied by such a vessel as the "Argus," that the enemy's trade would be much cut up, and her fishery for this year destroyed. The second is to make a short cruise on the coast of Surinam and Demarara accompanied by the "Argus." As both vessels are of an easy draft of water and my knowledge of the coast tolerably good, I am persuaded that much might be done, and the risk of capture not great, as they have nothing on the coast but what the "Hornet" or "Argus" can cope with. Should the above plans not meet your approbation, I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken, and attribute it to my zeal for the service and my ardent wish to be employed at sea.

With greatest respect, I am your obedient servant,

James Lawrence.

The Honorable,
William Jones.

The Department, however, declined his request to continue in command of the "Hornet," although it ac-

cepted, in a general way, his plan for the cruise,* and Master Commandant James Biddle was ordered to relieve him about the 1st of May, 1813.

For one month Lawrence enjoyed the happiness of being with his wife and young daughter, from whom he had been separated so long. In fact since his marriage five years before he had been at home altogether only a few months. His promotion to post captain had made him eligible for a larger ship, and when it was settled that he was to leave the "Hornet" he hoped that he would be assigned to a shore station for a short time at least. He had no desire for permanent shore duty, for to borrow a line from the Iliad,

> "He could not rest in indolence at home,
> He longed for battle and the joys of war."

But there were certain domestic reasons why he did not wish to go to sea again immediately, and when on May 4th he was ordered to command the New York Navy Yard as the relief of Captain Ludlow,† he believed that his wishes in the matter had been considered.

In this he was mistaken. He was to have the experience common to all who are subject to military orders. Not quite one week after he received the orders that were doubtless intended to be complimentary and agreeable, they were revoked, and he was ordered to command the "Chesapeake," at Boston, as the relief of Cap-

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* The cruise was never made. Within a week after Lawrence wrote to Biddle, he himself was dying a prisoner in the hands of the English, and the "Hornet" was still in New York, where she was closely blockaded for many months.

† Ludlow was re-appointed a lieutenant Sept. 10, 1811, and promoted to Commander 24th of the following December. He resigned May 1, 1813. (General Naval Register.)

tain Evans, who was compelled by his failing health to go on sick leave.

On May 6th the Department had addressed the following letter to Captain Evans, but in consequence of his indisposition, and consequent detachment from the command of the "Chesapeake," it was sent to Lawrence:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, May 6, 1813.*

CAPTAIN SAMUEL EVANS,
U. S. Frigate "Chesapeake,"
Boston Harbour.

SIR:—

I am much satisfied with the progress you have made in the equipment of the "Chesapeake," and trust this will find you ready for sea. In this expectation the following outline is intended to designate your cruise, which, if pursued with vigor and vigilance, I am persuaded will result no less to your honor and advantage than to the advancement of the great objects of the war.

It is impossible to conceive a naval service of a higher order in a national point of view than the capture and destruction of the enemy's store ships with military and naval stores destined for the supply of his armies in Canada and fleets on this station: and the capture of transports with troops, intended to reinforce Canada, or invade our own shores. With this view no position can be better chosen than the range of the coast of Nova Scotia, and the entrance of the Gulph of St. Lawrence—continuing about this ground until the latter part of June, then through the Gulph of St. Lawrence and Streights of Belle Isle, along the Coast of Labradore; or round by the east Coast of Newfoundland, (as information and prospects may determine), to the Coast of Greenland, where the entire whale fishery of the enemy, being without protection, may be speedily and completely destroyed.

By the time this could be accomplished the same route may be retraced home, so as to enter some convenient eastern port in all the month of September. In this route you will find great resource and refreshment in the fish with which those seas

* Private Correspondence. Navy Dept. MSS. Archives. Page 19.

abound, as well as in that of the fishing vessels you may capture and *destroy:* moreover, the moderate temperature and humidity of the climate will admit of a very moderate consumption of water.

The force of the enemy now on our coast, and the expected increase, forbid a reasonable expectation of getting prizes safe into our ports during the summer months. The risk of recaptures is so great that the public interest seems to require rather the *destruction of every prize,* than to weaken your crew by attempting to send them in—particularly those with *Military or Naval Stores.* A question never can arise between the honorable patriotism of our gallant officers and the pecuniary interest they may be supposed to have in attempting to send them into port, when the doubtful chance of success, and the very great advantage the enemy would derive from recaptures, are duly considered.

The cruising ground herein designated also embraces a vast and valuable mercantile trade for the supply of the British Provinces, and of the Indians; and also a rich return in furs and peltries.

The enemy will not, in all probability, anticipate our taking this ground with our public ships of war, and as the enemy's convoys generally separate between Cape Race and Halifax, leaving the trade for the St. Lawrence to proceed without convoy, the chance of captures, upon an extensive scale, is very flattering. It is of great importance that our account of prisoners should be kept as full as possible, and the returns regularly made, to this department, in order that an exchange of our own gallant seamen may be effected without delay; and that by the magnitude of the pledge in our hands the enemy may be induced from policy, if not from disposition, to treat our citizens with less rigour than he is accustomed to do.

The fogs which prevail in the seas in which you are to cruise may be considered as forming an objection, upon the presumption that a superior enemy cannot be discovered until close on board; but, admitting the fact, it is counterbalanced by the facility which it affords to a fast sailing vessel to escape from a superior enemy—that it conceals your own ship until an inferior in force & sailing in under your guns—that by running close in with the land you are sure to have clear weather, although the fog may be ever so thick two or three leagues off; and, that, by

taking a position off some known, usual landfall for the ships entering the St. Lawrence, you may intercept them as they approach the land the moment they develop from the fog-bank. After all, vigilance and preparation are the only safeguards in any and every situation.

With these instructions you will proceed to sea as soon as the weather and the force and position of the enemy will admit; and as the "Hornet" is now ready for sea, I shall furnish Captain Biddle with a duplicate of this letter, and order him to pursue the same route, with the same objects in view, and to endeavor to join you off Cape Breton. Wishing you a successful and honorable cruise, I am, very respectfully, &c.,

W. Jones.

These instructions were finally forwarded to Captain Lawrence, accompanied by another set of orders written four days later, and addressed to Lawrence himself:

Navy Department, May 6, 1813.*

Captain James Lawrence, U. S. Navy,
New York.

Sir:—

My last, of the 4th† instant, will have informed you of my intention to have ordered you to the command of the "Constitution," without reservation, and the enclosed copy of a letter, this moment received, after I had sealed the cover of the enclosed letter‡ to Captain Evans, will explain to you the cause of the indispensable change of that determination.

Knowing your ardent desire for active service, I feel a pleasure in gratifying your laudable zeal, and, therefore, desire that you will proceed immediately to Boston, take command of the U. S. Frigate "Chesapeake," and proceed in conformity with the foregoing instructions, which you will consider as if originally addressed to yourself. If in the course of your cruise you should derive such information of the force of the enemy, or other sufficient cause, as to render a strict adherence to my instructions

* Private Correspondence. Navy Dept. MSS. Archives. Page 22.

† The Department's letter of May 4th, missing.

‡ Letter preceding this.

prejudicial to the public service, you are at liberty to exercise your own judgment, and pursue such other course as may, in your opinion, be best calculated to accomplish the important objects of your cruise.

Captain Biddle will receive his instructions by this mail, and may, probably, be in New York in twenty-four hours after. Perhaps you had better see him and confer upon the best means of ensuring his junction with you at whatever point you may determine upon.

Captain Evans will be ordered to the Navy Yard at New York, but you need not wait to be relieved by him.

I am, very respectfully, &c.,

W. Jones.

Upon receipt of these orders Lawrence wrote to the Secretary of the Navy as follows:

New York, May 10, 1813.

Sir:—

I was yesterday honored by the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., revoking your order of the 4th and appointing me to the command of the Frigate "Chesapeake"; by this testimony of your confidence and the very handsome manner in which it was communicated, I feel highly honor'd. By Thursday I shall be able to collect all the accounts for the outfit of the "Hornet," for signing, as well as those for the Navy Yard, and shall then proceed direct for Boston.

Permit me, however, Sir, to hope that if the following arrangement can without injury to the service be made, you will have no objection, and I only wish it to take place in case I should unavoidably be delayed by blockade or any other cause. I am fearful that you will conceive my conduct rather inconsistent, but trust the excuse I am about to offer will be a sufficient apology.

When I requested permission to go out again in the "Hornet" I conceived that I could with propriety leave my family, but have since found that Mrs. Lawrence's health is so *delicate* and her situation at this time so very critical that I am induced to request your permission to remain until the "Constitution" is ready, provided I can make the arrangement with Captain Stewart, who I understand is ordered to her, but who, I understand, is extremely anxious to get to sea.

I shall consult with Captain Biddle (who is now here) and make necessary arrangements with him.

Washington Irving states that Lawrence wrote four "letters successively to the Secretary of the Navy," asking to have his orders to the "Chesapeake" changed, but this must be a mistake. The letter above is the only one on the subject on file in the Navy Department, and the tone of his letters indicates clearly an intention to obey if his request for a revocation of his orders was declined.

Besides, it is known that Lawrence arrived in Boston on the 18th of May, which is proof that he left New York very soon after the above letter to the Secretary was written. He had not given up hope, however, when he joined the "Chesapeake" that his request for the "Constitution" would be approved, as will be seen later on in his letter to Captain Biddle dated on the 27th of May.

It is now proper to say something about the "Chesapeake." She was considered the most unlucky ship in the navy, and from the time she was launched until Barron's bullet at Bladensburg, twenty years later, slew the most brilliant sailor officer the navy of the United States has ever produced, she seemed always to exercise a baneful influence upon every one connected with her. Like Œdipus in the Fable, she was pursued by a malignant fate, from which it seemed impossible to escape.

The "Chesapeake" was built at Norfolk, Virginia, and launched November 2, 1799. It is stated that in attempting to launch her she stuck twice on the ways, which is always considered an ill omen. She was 1,135 tons by English and 1,244 tons by American measurement, and was completed in 265 working days, not more than twenty carpenters at a time being employed in her con-

struction. She was 161 feet long, 42 feet beam, and cost, including her first outfit two hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-eight dollars. She was therefore fourteen years old at the time of the action with the "Shannon."

When Lawrence joined her, she mounted in broadside fourteen 18-pounders on her main deck, and ten 32-pounder carronades on her spar deck, besides one 18-pounder on her forecastle—49 guns in all—making her total broadside five hundred and ninety pounds.

Her guns bore fanciful names, which by one account, were inscribed on small squares of copper, and by another, painted in large white letters over the ports, as follows: On the main deck: Brother Jonathan, True Blue, Yankee Protection, Putnam, Raging Eagle, Viper, General Warren, Mad Anthony, America, Washington, Liberty Forever, Dreadnaught, Defiance, and Liberty or Death,—14. On the spar deck: the Jumping Billy, Rattler, Bull Dog, Spitfire, Nancy Dawson, Revenge, Bunker Hill, Pocahontas, Towser and Wilful Murder—10. These names, which are copied from a British memorandum, show the guns were named in pairs, and that the forecastle 18-pounder was called United Tars.*

The "Chesapeake" made a cruise in the West Indies in 1800; in the Mediterranean in 1802-3; and sailed again for the Mediterranean in 1807, when the unfortunate affair of the "Leopard" occurred; and subsequently she cruised in the North Atlantic.

Her bad luck followed her as a commerce destroyer. In the quasi-war with France she made only one capture; in the War of 1812 she made six, and they were all insignificant prizes save one, a four hundred ton ship

* Rear-Admiral G. H. Preble, U. S. N.

called the "Volunteer," the cargo of which was valued at seven hundred thousand dollars.

As a man-of-war she had won no laurels. Her engagement with H. B. M. "Shannon" was her first, as it was also her last fight.

The affair with the "Leopard" had effectually condemned the "Chesapeake," and sealed her untoward reputation, for, as is well known, to seamen a ship becomes endowed with human virtues or human faults; to them she ceases to be a mere inanimate thing of wood or iron; in their eyes she is a living organism, and as such acquires a reputation for good or evil, and in a short time establishes a permanent reputation.

Barron's unfortunate experience with Captain Humphreys reflected as much discredit on the ship as it did upon him, but that was only one of many incidents, although by far the most serious, that was scored against her. On entering Boston harbor on one occasion, she had lost a mast overboard in a squall, and several men, who were aloft, were drowned. She had repeatedly been ashore, and last, but not least, she had just returned from a long cruise to the coast of Europe having made but six captures—a remarkable experience in those days when cruisers and privateers were sending in prizes by the hundreds. It is a curious and interesting fact that the day after the action between the "Hornet" and the "Peacock," the "Chesapeake" sailed through the very waters where the battle was fought, on her return to the United States.

Of course Lawrence was not the man to be deterred from any duty by superstitious considerations, but it was natural that, aside from all other reasons, he would have much preferred the command of Old Ironsides to the command of the unpopular "Chesapeake."

CHAPTER X.

SIR PHILIP BOWES VERE BROKE, ROYAL NAVY.

While Lawrence was "teaching his hands to war and his fingers to fight" on the Barbary Coast, as one of Preble's "good boys," his future antagonist, Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, was learning his profession under Jervis and Nelson. Both were in training for a contest that was to bring to each fame and glory, and were being well taught by stern masters in that rough school of war which invariably produces the best and most skillful officers.

Broke was five years older than Lawrence. He was born on the 9th of September, 1776, at Broke Hall in the County of Suffolk, and was the eldest son of Philip Bowes Broke, and was descended from one of the most ancient families in the kingdom. At the age of twelve he was placed at the Royal Academy at Portsmouth "where he displayed much diligence and ability in prosecuting his nautical studies, till the age of fifteen, when he entered the navy, on the 25th of June, 1792, and joined the 'Bull-dog' sloop of war. His first cruise lasted fourteen months."

His next cruise carried him through the French war, and he was present on board the "L'Eclair" in the action of March 13 and 14, 1795, when Nelson in the "Agamemnon" captured the "Ca Ira." Two years later he was a lieutenant on board the "Southampton" in Jer-

vis's fleet action off Cape St. Vincent. In January, 1799, he was appointed Commander, and in February, 1801, at the age of twenty-five, he attained post rank. It may be remarked here that at this time James Lawrence had not received his commission as lieutenant. The next four years he was unemployed, and in 1804 he was married.

On April 8, 1805, he was ordered to command the "Druid," 700 tons, and while attached to her he captured the "Prince Murat," a French privateer. On another occasion he chased a French brig through the Channel squadron in a half gale of wind at night, and would have got her if the admiral, whose flagship he nearly ran down, had not ordered him to heave to and come on board. Once he attempted to close with a French frigate of 1,100 tons, but was prevented by calms and night coming on.

On Sunday, August 31, 1806, Captain Broke was detached from the "Druid," and ordered to command the "Shannon," when as Admiral de la Graviere says, referring to her battle with the "Chesapeake," he "began to prepare the glorious termination of the bloody affair." This tour of sea duty lasted until October, 1813, when Broke returned in her to England, incapacitated by his wounds for further active service.

The "Shannon," which Broke made the most famous ship in the English Navy, after the "Victory," although rated a 38, actually carried a battery of 52 guns. She was built at Brindsley's Yard, Chatham, in 1806, and was, therefore, a new ship when Broke was ordered to her. Two ships of the same name had previously been lost. One, a 32-gun frigate, constructed in 1796, was wrecked in 1800; another, a 36-gun frigate, was launched in 1803, and the same year ran aground in a gale under

SIR PHILIP BROKE

the batteries near Cape La Hougue. The third, Broke's "Shannon," was a ship of 1,066 tons, and according to Captain Broke's challenge to Lawrence, mounting 24 guns upon her broadsides, and also one light boat gun; she carried 18-pounders on her main deck, and 32-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and forecastle. Her complement was about 300 men.

Soon after assuming command of the "Shannon," Broke made a cruise in her to the Arctic regions, attaining a latitude of 80° 30′. For five years he was in the Channel squadron until August 11, 1811, when off Cape St. Vincent, he received sealed orders to proceed to the North American Station.

At this time Broke was already one of the marked men of the service, and was widely known as a "smart" officer. He was far above the average naval officer of that period in intelligence, and was besides a skillful seaman; his ship was a model of neatness and discipline. His hobby was gunnery, an unusual trait in those days, when, according to the rancorous James, who is not given to fault-finding with his own people:

"Instead of the sturdy occupation of handling the ship's guns, now seldom used but on salutes, the men were taught to polish the traversing bars, elevating screws, copper on the bits, etc., by way of ornament to the quarter-deck. Such of the crew as escaped this menial office (from the unnecessary wear it occasions, lately forbidden by an order of the board of Admiralty) were set to reefing and unreefing the topsails against time, preparatory to a match with any of his Majesty's ships that might happen to fall in company."

Until 1817 there were no regularly authorized gun drills in the Royal Navy. Each captain formulated his own drills, and as there were comparatively few officers

at that time who had any scientific knowledge of gunnery, the drills at best could have been only crude and perfunctory. Broke, however, was a proficient gunner, and he was one of the very few of his contemporaries who appreciated the fact that a ship is built for the purpose of carrying guns, that the guns are in fact the *raison d'etre* of the ship.

He knew the necessity of having gun sights, and he was familiar with the advantages of concentration of gun fire. At his own expense he fitted all his guns with dispart sights and quadrants, by which they could be intelligently aimed at any object the distance of which was approximately known, and he caused to be cut upon the decks of the "Shannon" in the rear of the guns, arcs of circles, with degrees of train notched in the deck and filled with putty, whereby all the guns of a broadside could be accurately laid on the same target, and the total weight of broadside delivered simultaneously at the same point, when the guns were fired together. These rude curves on the "Shannon's" decks were prototypes of the finely graduated training circles of modern battle ships.

Furthermore Broke kept his men constantly engaged at great gun practice and small arm exercise. This alone was sufficient to distinguish him above his brother officers, most of whom rarely indulged in the luxury of target practice, a neglect which James says prevailed over two-thirds of the British Navy.

The truth is that British naval officers had come to think themselves invincible, and that any effort to improve themselves in gunnery or seamanship would be a work of supererogation. This arrogance was not without reason; it was an historical sequence, for in 1339 Edward—the King of the Sea—had written "When, as our

progenitors, the Kings of England have been in all times past lords of the English Sea on every side, etc., etc."* Thus, for nearly five hundred years Englishmen had regarded the sea as their own, and if they could not claim to have made it, they felt that at least they were masters of it by right of conquest. "Since the year 1792," says Mahan, "each European nation in turn had learned to feel bitter dread of the weight of England's hand. In the Baltic Sir Samuel Hood had taught the Russians that they must needs keep in port when the English cruisers were in the offing. The descendants of the Vikings had seen their whole navy destroyed at Copenhagen. No Dutch fleet ever put out after the day when off Camperdown, Lord Duncan took possession of De Witt's shattered ships. But a few years before 1812 the greatest sea-fighter of all times had died in Trafalgar Bay, and in dying had crumbled to pieces the navies of France and Spain."

Toward Americans the English officers were particularly annoying and insulting; the affair of the "Baltimore" in 1799 when Captain Phillips of the navy suffered several of his men to be taken out of his ship, by a British squadron, and for which he was dismissed from the service, and later, the tame submission of the "Chesapeake" to the "Leopard" were not conducive to inspire their respect. Lawrence's experience with Collingwood is scarcely to be considered in the same category; that episode was a case of bullying pure and simple, in which a mere boy in a sailing launch was overpowered by an entire fleet.

But to return to the "Shannon."

Every day in the week except Saturdays and Sundays,

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* Our Naval Heroes—Marindin; p. 17.

forenoon and afternoon, the watch below was exercised at firing at beef casks or pickle barrels thrown overboard as targets, and the ship worked around them at a distance of 300 or 400 yards. On Friday afternoons the guns were manned by the midshipmen.

Battle exercises at night were almost as frequent as the day drills, until in the course of time, Broke's men became simply integral parts of the guns, and no matter when the drum beat to quarters, night or day, every man flew to his station on deck or at the battery knowing exactly what to do. Broke knew the truth of Napoleon's maxim that "fire is everything," and he believed what Farragut expressed fifty years afterward, that "the best protection from the enemy's fire is a well directed fire from your own ship." Throughout the service the "Shannons" were famous for their effective gunnery.

When the War of 1812 began, the veterans of the Nile, the Baltic and Trafalgar, who never doubted that victory perched on every masthead that flew the Cross of St. George, met only a succession of humiliating and mortifying defeats. Broke was then the senior officer on the coast of the United States, and his first experience with the American Navy was as an eye-witness to the memorable escape of the "Constitution" from his own squadron, an historical episode, which a recent writer humorously calls the first international yacht race.

In appearance Broke was of powerful athletic proportions, and was over six feet in height. In this respect he resembled Lawrence, but his mental characteristics were entirely opposite to those of his dashing foeman.

Lawrence, as we have seen, was of the temperament of a highly bred race horse, sensitive, quick and impulsive. Broke, on the other hand, was distinguished by "a sober suited, half melancholy common sense, which he ap-

plied to the working of his ship, till he made the vessel, perhaps, the most formidable fighting machine afloat."

A more sober and prosaic figure can hardly be imagined.

He was not like Nelson, a quarter-deck Napoleon; he had no gleam of Dundonald's matchless *ruse de guerre.* He was a deeply religious Havelock or one of Cornwallis's major generals. He had the frugality of a Scotchman, and the heavy footed common sense of a Hollander. He was as nautical as a web footed bird, and had no more nerves than a fish. He was a domestic Englishman, whose heart was always with the little girls at Broke Hall, in Suffolk, but for whom the service of his country was a piety, and who might have competed with (Henry) Lawrence for his self chosen epitaph, "Here lies one who tried to do his duty."*

Brighton remarks that Broke owed his distinction not more to his success than to his clemency, and that he was not a man to stain his laurels with the blood of the conquered.

As the war progressed, and frigate after frigate struck her colors to the despised Yankee in his "bundle of pine-boards tied together with rope yarns," Broke longed for an opportunity to restore the prestige of the navy, whose glory had been dimmed by a series of defeats. He knew his men, and he knew his ship, and he felt within himself a confidence and an assurance of success, born of seven years of constant and unremitted training.

Among the other officers of the "Shannon" were George Thomas L. Watt, the First Lieutenant, Provo Wallis, who rose to the highest rank in the English Navy, and recently died a centenarian; Lieutenant Charles Falkner and

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* Fitchett.

First Lieutenants Low and Johns of the Marines. Among the midshipmen were "Tommy" Fenn, the Captain's Aide, Raymond, Leake, Clavering, Littlejohn, Smith and Cosnohan. The two latter, who were stationed in the main top during the action, greatly distinguished themselves as will be seen later on. Alexander Jack was the Surgeon, G. Aldham the Purser and George Dunn the Clerk. In the crew were veteran blue-jackets of Rodney, and younger men who had fought under Nelson's captains from Aboukir to Cadiz; from Copenhagen to Teneriffe.

Broke's kindly and officer-like spirit is well illustrated by a pleasant story that is related of him at the last dinner on board the "Shannon" before the fight with the "Chesapeake."

Two officers of the "Shannon" had had a misunderstanding, and were not on speaking terms. At dinner, Broke, who knew this and desired to bring them together, said: "Gentlemen, I ask you all to take a glass of wine with me before going into action." All the glasses were emptied, and after dinner the two officers shook hands.

This recalls a similar anecdote recorded by Southey, who says that before the battle of Trafalgar, Collingwood went on board the "Victory" with some of the captains of the fleet to receive instructions, and left his own captain on board the "Ocean." Nelson immediately asked Collingwood where Captain Rotheram was: "We are not on good terms with each other," replied Collingwood. "Terms," said Nelson, "good terms with each other!" and at once sent a boat for Rotheram. When he came on board, Nelson said: "Look! Yonder are the enemy," and bade them both shake hands.

Dunois at Liege was not more eager to break a lance

with the Wild Boar of Ardennes than Broke was to provoke a duel with an American frigate, and so, after cruising in Boston Bay for several weeks in company with other ships without success, he determined to blockade Boston alone, hoping that when it was known ashore that he was unsupported, some one of the vessels inside would come out and engage him. Accordingly in the latter part of May, Broke, after taking fifteen tons of water out of the "Tenedos," detached her from his command in the following letter addressed to Captain Hyde Parker:

His Majesty's Ship "Shannon," off Boston,
May 25th, 1813.

Sir:—

Having every reason to expect that the American frigate "Chesapeake" will sail from Boston in a few days, and thinking there is more chance of her being intercepted by our frigates cruising separately than if they keep together, I have to direct that during the absence of the Honorable Captain Capel, the Senior Officer, you will proceed to and cruise upon the range lately occupied by La Hogue, viz: from Cape Sable to latitude 42.10 North, to watch for the "Chesapeake" should she pass the "Shannon" in night time or thick weather.

You are to take an opportunity in such winds as you think least likely to favor the enemy's escape, to procure water enough to last out your provisions, at Shelburne, or any other port which you may find most convenient, joining the "Shannon" off Boston, on the 14th of June, unless otherwise ordered by the Senior Officer.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,
P. V. B. Broke.

For one week Broke cruised alone in Massachusetts Bay, the weather being generally thick and wet, but his vigilance enabled him to make several captures in spite of the prevailing fog. On the 26th he recaptured the brig "Lucy," and on the 29th the brig "William," both of

Halifax. These prizes he sent into Halifax, the former with her own master and a party of recaptured English seamen, the latter in charge of a midshipman and four men from the "Shannon."*

In the afternoon of the 29th, Broke boarded the Nova Scotia brig "Sir John Sherbroke," and took out of her twenty-two Irish laborers, whom the brig had recaptured a few days before. Thus the "Shannon's" crew was actually increased by eighteen men; these, together with sailors recaptured from other vessels, brought up her total force, including officers, to 330.

The blockade was continued without further incident, growing more wearisome every day under the depressing influence of the fog and rain, and Broke's patience and spirits must have been sorely tried, and his heart often made sick by hope long deferred. But the end was near at hand. At daylight on June 1st, the weather having cleared, Broke sailed within two or three miles of the old Boston Light House and to his great satisfaction made out the "Chesapeake" at anchor in Nantasket Roads. He then hove to and fired a gun. Lawrence, who had been watching the movements of the "Shannon," promptly answered the challenge by a return gun and by dropping his foretopsail; at the same time he hoisted at the fore truck his battle flag with its motto, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights."

Broke being thus assured that his movements had been understood, drew out from the harbor, crossing his royal yards as he stretched away toward Cape Ann. Then in the quiet of the early morning he returned to his cabin and there wrote his famous challenge.

Like most men of action, Broke was a man of few words, for instance, he records in his journal:

* Memoir of Admiral Wallis—Brighton.

"June 1, off Boston, Moderate N.W.W. (rote) Lawrence. P. M. took "Chesapeake."

(This must have been written long after the battle, for his brave hand was incapable of holding a pen for many weeks after the first of June.)

But when he wrote his challenge he did not economize words; he was so anxious to engage the "Chesapeake," that he seems over-anxious to explain away all possible obstacles, and to answer beforehand any possible objections that Lawrence might make. But he did not know Lawrence. To the latter the mere sight of an enemy in the open sea was an imperative call to arms, and he needed neither urging nor formal challenge to accept the gage. The enemy's flag was the only signal that he required for close action; the only stimulus for him to use his utmost endeavors to overtake, capture and destroy him.

This document, which it is perhaps unnecessary to say, Lawrence never saw, is now preserved in the archives of the Navy Department, and is as follows:

H. B. M. "Shannon," off Boston, June 1, '13.

Sir:—

As the "Chesapeake" appears now ready for sea, I request that you will do me the favor to meet the "Shannon" with her, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. To an officer of your character, it requires some apology for proceeding to further particulars. Be assured, sir, that it is not from any doubt I can entertain of your wishing to close with my proposal, but merely to provide an answer to any objection which might be made, and very reasonably, upon the chance of our receiving unfair support. After the diligent attention which we had paid to Commodore Rodgers, the pains I took to detach all force but the "Shannon" and "Tenedos" to such a distance that they could not possibly join in any action fought in sight of the Capes, and the various verbal messages that had been sent to Boston to

that effect, we were much disappointed to find the Commodore had eluded us by sailing on the first change, after the prevailing easterly winds had obliged us to keep an offing from the coast. He, perhaps, wished for some stronger assurance of a fair meeting. I am, therefore, induced to address you more particularly, and to assure you that what I write I pledge my honor to perform to the utmost of my power. The "Shannon" mounts 24 guns upon her broadside, and 1 light boat gun, 18 pounders upon her main deck, and 32-pound carronades on her quarter-deck and forecastle; and is manned with a complement of 300 men and boys, (a large proportion of the latter), besides thirty seamen, boys and passengers who were taken out of recaptured vessels lately. I am thus minute, because a report has prevailed in some of the Boston papers, that we had 150 men additional, lent us from "La Hogue" which really never was the case.

"La Hogue" is now gone to Halifax for provisions, and I will send all other ships beyond the power of interfering with us, and meet you wherever it is most agreeable to you, within the limits of the under mentioned rendezvous, viz.: from six to ten leagues east of Cape Cod light-house; from eight to ten leagues east of Cape Ann's light; on Cash's Ledge in latitude 43 North; at any bearing and distance you please to fix, off the south breakers of Nantucket, or the shoal of St. George's Bank. If you will favor me with any plan of signals or telegraph, I will warn you (if sailing under this promise) should any of my friends be too nigh, or anywhere in sight, until I can detach them out of my way; or I would sail with you, under a flag of truce to any place you might think safest from any cruiser, hauling it down when fair to begin hostilities.

You must, sir, be aware that my proposals are highly advantageous to you, as you cannot proceed to sea singly in the "Chesapeake" without imminent risk of being crushed by the superior force of the numerous British squadrons which are now abroad where all your efforts, in case of a *rencontre,* would, however gallant, be perfectly hopeless. I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the "Chesapeake," or that I depend only upon your personal ambition for your according to this invitation. We have both nobler motives.

You will feel it as a compliment if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render

to my country; and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in even combats, that your little Navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favor me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay long here.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

P. B. V. Broke,

Captain of H. B. M. "Shannon."

N. B.: For the general service of watching your coast, it is requisite for me to keep another ship in company to support me with her guns and boats when employed near the land, and particularly to aid each other if either ship in chase, should get on shore. You must be aware that I cannot consistently with my duty, waive so great an advantage for this general service without an assurance on your part of meeting me directly, and that you will neither seek nor admit aid from any other of your armed vessels if I despatch mine expressly for the sake of meeting you. Should any special order restrain you from answering a formal challenge, you may yet oblige me by keeping my proposal a secret and appointing any place you like to meet us (within 300 miles of Boston) in a given number of days after you sail; as unless you agree to an interview, I may be at a distance from Boston when you go to sea.

Choose your terms, but let us meet.

To the Commander of the United States Frigate "Chesapeake."

The reference in the challenge to Commodore Rodgers greatly provoked that officer when he heard of it several months afterward, and he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy:

"Just at the moment of closing my letter, a newspaper has been handed to me containing Captain Broke's challenge to my late gallant friend, Captain Lawrence, in which he mentions with considerable emphasis the pains he had taken to meet the 'President' and 'Congress' with the 'Shannon' and 'Tenedos.'

"It is unnecessary at present to take further notice of Cap-

tain Broke's observations than to say, if that was his disposition, his conduct was so glaringly opposite as to authorize a very contrary belief. Relative to Captain Broke, I have only to say that I hope he has not been so severely wounded as to make it a sufficient reason to prevent his reassuming command of the 'Shannon' again."

Captain Broke sent the challenge ashore by Captain Eben Slocum, of Marblehead, whom he had captured a few days before. Slocum mailed the letter which was marked "On Service" and addressed to the "Captain of the 'Chesapeake,'" at Marblehead, the same day, and it was received at the Boston post office the day following and was delivered to Commodore Bainbridge, the Commandant of the Navy Yard, who at once forwarded it to Washington, together with a brief report of the action based upon the news which had been brought to him late the night before, and the report by Mr. Robert Knox, the pilot who took the "Chesapeake" to sea.

After discharging Slocum, Broke went aloft to the maintop and remained there a long time watching the distant spars of the "Chesapeake," and Captain Slocum's little boat pulling slowly away across the smooth sea until it was lost in the haze. A short while before noon he returned to the deck, and directed Lieutenant Provo Wallis, who was on duty, to sound the retreat from quarters, and cautioned him to keep a bright look-out for the "Chesapeake," and to inform him at once if she made any move to get under way, adding, "she is sure to come out to-day or to-morrow." At noon the men of the "Shannon" went to dinner as usual, and it was not until 12:30 P. M., that the "Chesapeake" was seen by the masthead look-out on the "Shannon," sheeting home her topsails preparatory to coming out.

CHAPTER XI.

BEFORE THE BATTLE.

In 1809 when the Embargo Act was passed, Massachusetts declared that it was not binding on her, and at the beginning of the war the outspoken opposition to it of the New England states, which in 1776 had been the strongholds of the insurrection against the mother country,* was so bitter and their refusal to contribute to it so positive, that disunion almost resulted from the Hartford Convention that was held a few months later. This state of affairs naturally gave comfort to the enemy, and created the impression in England that that part of the country would at least remain neutral during the impending struggle.

This sentiment was unmistakably reflected two weeks after Lawrence put to sea in the "Chesapeake," when a motion was made in the Senate of Massachusetts for a vote of thanks to the officers and crew of the "Hornet" for their brilliant achievement in the destruction of the "Peacock," and the signal humanity exhibited by them to the vanquished enemy.

The motion was negatived, and a report was made by a committee of which Josiah Quincy was Chairman, and adopted by the Senate, declaring that the attention already paid to our gallant naval commanders had given offense to "many good people," and a vote of

* Creasy.

thanks to a naval commander, who had perpetuated a deed which reflected honor upon the American name, in this "unjust, unnecessary and iniquitous war" was inconsistent with "the feelings of a moral and religious people."

Acting on the surmise that the New England states were lukewarm, the blockade from Eastport to Montauk was much less strict than it was elsewhere on the coast, so that American men-of-war and merchantmen entered and left the northeastern ports without much thought of annoyance from British cruisers, until the fact became so notorious that the attention of the English Admiral, Sir John Borlase Warren, was drawn to it, whereupon he proceeded to strengthen the cordon and directed the maintenance of a rigid blockade.

Thus it happened that early in April, 1813, the "Shannon" and the "Tenedos," the same vessel that had overhauled Lawrence's little gun-boat off Cadiz a few months before Trafalgar, were cruising together in Boston Bay, and while reconnoitring off Boston Light House discovered inside the harbor three frigates, the "Congress," "President," and "Constitution." A few days later the "Chesapeake," commanded by Captain Samuel Evans, returning from a long and profitless cruise in the North Atlantic, ran the blockade and joined the other vessels in the harbor. Thus it happened that one-half the entire available frigate force of the United States was shut up for a few weeks in one port.

On the 12th of May, the "Congress" and the "President," the latter flying the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers, got to sea in a fog, without seeing anything of the British ships, leaving the "Constitution" and the "Chesapeake" at the Navy Yard.

Lawrence arrived in Boston the 18th day of May, about

one week after the departure of the "President." He reported for duty to Commodore Bainbridge, the Commandant of the Navy Yard, as the relief of Captain Evans, and on the 20th, having relieved Evans, he assumed command of the "Chesapeake."

It is now necessary to ascertain, if possible, the actual condition of the "Chesapeake" and her crew as Lawrence found them, and to examine some of the many conflicting stories reflecting seriously on both, that have been accepted as history for many years.

The letter that Lawrence wrote to the Navy Department immediately after taking command of the "Chesapeake" is particularly worthy of note, as it furnishes important information regarding the condition of the ship which may tend to justify her battle with the "Shannon" in the minds of those who accuse him of bad judgment in engaging her.

BOSTON, May 20th, (1813).

SIR:—

I have the honor to inform you that I arrived at this place on the evening of the 18th, and have this day taken command of the Frigate "Chesapeake" in compliance with your order.

*I found her ready for sea,** with the exception of some provisions and slops (occasioned by the severe indisposition of Purser Moffet who is too unwell to go to sea in the ship), and a *few men* now on their way from Portland.

In consequence of the "Chesapeake's" being under sailing orders, Commodore Bainbridge has ordered Purser Chew to her. He will request a few days to arrange his accounts at the Navy Yard.

By that time I shall have time to see everything arranged to my satisfaction and shall proceed to sea with the first favorable chance, as I am induced to believe from a conversation I have had last evening with my friend Commodore Bainbridge, that I have little chance of an exchange of ships betwen Captain

* The italics in this letter are the author's.—A. G.

Stewart and myself. At all events I should have put to sea the moment the "Chesapeake" was ready.

I have pointed out the different places of rendezvous to Captain Biddle, and shall write him more fully this evening.

With sentiments of highest respect,

I remain, JAMES LAWRENCE.

Honorable William Jones.

It will be seen then that Lawrence, than whom there was no better judge of ships and sailors, expressly stated *ten* days before he sailed, that the "Chesapeake" was then ready for sea; that he needed only a few men, and that in the short time it would take to settle the Paymaster's accounts he hoped to have everything arranged to his satisfaction, and he was not an officer to be satisfied with anything that was not taut and in man-o'-war fashion.

This is not the only direct evidence there is to prove that the "Chesapeake" was ready for service. On May 28, 1813, Lieutenant Augustus Ludlow, First Lieutenant of the "Chesapeake," wrote to his brother Charles (Lawrence's old friend who resigned when Morris was nominated for promotion over him):*

"There are only three frigates now cruising off Boston Bay; they send in no prizes but burn them all. Commodore Broke says he does not intend to weaken his crew by manning prizes. I have every reason to believe you will have your rank this summer, I will assure you it makes a greater noise in the manner you have been treated. I had no idea any one officer would raise such a talk by his resigning. It shows to the world that you are well known, and much thought of.

"There is a report we shall go to sea on Sunday, but I cannot believe it. I hardly think we shall go out in such fine weather, when there are three frigates off [shore]. *The ship is in better order for battle than ever I saw her before.* Page is a-go-

* The Ludlow MSS.

LIEUTENANT AUGUSTUS LUDLOW, U. S. N.

ing out our first Lieutenant, Lieutenant Pierce has left the ship. There is no news here except flour has fallen $3. on the barrell, owing to two ships getting in from the Southward loaded with flour, they were bound to Cadiz, but put in in distress. It is now $18. per barrell."

In all accounts of this battle, great emphasis has been laid upon the statement that there were numerous foreigners in the crew, besides a great number of raw hands. A newspaper of the day credits Purser Chew with saying upon his arrival in Boston three weeks after the battle, that one hundred of the "Chesapeake's" crew had never before been to sea. The only way to get at the truth of the matter is to examine the "Chesapeake's" muster roll. Fortunately this has been preserved, but apparently it has never been consulted.

From this roll, the first and most impressive fact to confront us, is that *there was not one landsman on board the "Chesapeake,"* with the possible exception of the thirteen powder boys. The lowest rating on the books was that of ordinary seaman, which is of itself proof of previous sea-service of the entire crew.

As to the charge that the crew was composed largely of foreigners, if Englishmen are included in this term, it is, of course, impossible from their names to separate them from the native-born, but of the distinctively foreign names, there are less than fifteen on the list, and as English authorities claim that only thirty-six deserters from the Royal Navy were found in the "Chesapeake," the total number of "foreigners" in the ship's company was fifty-one, or less than fifteen percent. The familiar charge that Lawrence went into action with a green crew composed mostly of foreigners, therefore falls to the ground.

When Lawrence relieved Captain Evans, he found

that the first Lieutenant, Octavius Page, was so ill, that it became necessary to transfer him to the hospital ashore, where he died some days afterward. Lieutenant Thompson, and Acting Lieutenant Nicholson were absent on sick leave, and to Acting Lieutenant Pierce, who seems to have been an undesirable person, Lawrence granted indefinite leave of absence in order to have him out of the ship. By these changes in the personnel of the wardroom, Lieutenant Ludlow, a young officer of rare professional merit, became the first lieutenant, and two of the midshipmen, Cox and Edward J. Ballard, were given appointments as acting lieutenants.

Ludlow was only twenty-one years old, and had never before been first lieutenant of a ship, but there was nothing that happened subsequently to justify the opinion that an older, or more experienced officer could have better performed the duties that fell to the Executive of the "Chesapeake" during the action of the 1st of June. As a matter of fact, he had been at sea nearly nine years, having entered the navy as a midshipman in 1804, when he was only twelve years old. He had served three years on board the "President" under Commodore Barron in the Mediterranean, and he saw service in the war with Tripoli.

From the "President" he was transferred to the "Constitution" where he was promoted to lieutenant. His next ship was the "Hornet" under Lawrence, but he does not seem to have been on board her in the action with the "Peacock." He had made two cruises in the "Chesapeake," however, and was thoroughly familiar with that ship. His testimony as to her readiness for battle is, therefore, of great value.

The other line officers were Lieutenant Wm. A.

White, the sailing master, Lieutenant George Budd, the second lieutenant, who at the close of the action was the senior surviving officer, and Acting Lieutenants Wm. Cox and E. J. Ballard, and twenty midshipmen.

It may be safely said that neither the youth of the officers nor their brief service had any unfavorable effects upon the issue of the contest with the "Shannon." If youth is considered a bar to efficiency, it must not be forgotten that Lawrence himself, who was then at the zenith of his fame, had not yet reached his thirty-second year, and, furthermore, that the great Decatur was made a Post-Captain when he was only twenty-four.

While the "Chesapeake" was fitting out at Boston, as has been mentioned, the Department had decided to strike the fisheries on the Northeast coast, and Lawrence had been selected to conduct the operations in the "Chesapeake."

He was to have with him his old ship, the "Hornet," now under Biddle, and on the 27th of May, he wrote to this officer his final instructions, appointing a rendezvous:

Boston, May 27, 1813.

Dear Sir:—

In hopes of being relieved by Captain Stewart, I neglected writing agreeably to promise, but as I have given over all hopes of seeing him, and the "Chesapeake" is almost ready, I shall sail on Sunday, (May 30), provided I have a chance of getting out clear of the "Shannon" and the "Tenedos," who are on the lookout. My intention is to pass out by Cape Sable, and then run out West (East?) until I get into the stream, then haul in for Cape Canso, and run for Cape Breton, where I expect the pleasure of seeing you. I think your best chance for getting out is through the Sound.

In haste, Yours sincerely,

James Lawrence.

Acting under peremptory orders from the Secretary of the Navy to proceed on this cruise, Lawrence cast off his moorings from Long Wharf, on Sunday morning, the 30th of May, and dropped down to President Roads, with the intention of lying there a few days and shaking down before going to sea. The next afternoon, while dining in Boston at the residence of Mr. Charles G. Loring, Lawrence received news that an English man-of-war had been seen off the port. He at once excused himself and returned to his ship to prepare her for action, but as he did not go out until the next day, the fact disproves the assertion that has been made so often that the action was the result of a hasty and thoughtless impetuosity on the part of Lawrence.

On the same evening, the 31st of May, Captain Lawrence, accompanied by Lieutenant Cox, and one or two officers of the "Chesapeake" dined* with the Commandant of the Navy Yard at Charlestown. After the dinner was over, and the cloth removed, Commodore Bainbridge and his guests sat around the table sipping their Madeira.

It was at this time that the question of the "Chesapeake's" going out to engage the "Shannon" came under discussion. There had been some coolness and misunderstanding between Bainbridge and Lawrence on the question of the division of prize money arising from

* Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors—James Barnes. D. Appleton & Co. Mr. Barnes stated to the author that the authority for his account of this dinner was contained in letters of Commodore Bainbridge, now in his possession. On the other hand, Washington Irving states in a footnote to his Biographical Sketch of Lawrence, that he had received a letter from Bainbridge declaring that he did not see Captain Lawrence for several days before the battle.

COMMODORE WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE, U. S. N.
From the painting by Gilbert Stuart

the capture of the "Peacock." Bainbridge as Commander of the squadron, claimed a share in the "Peacock," and at first, Lawrence disputed the claim. The difficulty, however, had been amicably settled, but when Lawrence asked Bainbridge's advice about fighting the "Shannon," the latter declined to express an opinion, feeling that his advice not to engage might be interpreted, if not by Lawrence, at least by some of his friends, as prompted by a vindictive desire to prevent the young commander from winning either more laurels, or more prize money.

Lawrence requested Bainbridge to order sufficient men from the "Constitution" to fill the vacancies on the "Chesapeake." Bainbridge declined to do this. Lawrence then asked if he might go into the Navy Yard and call for volunteers there. The Commodore said that while he would not authorize the proceeding, he would not object to it. When the party broke up, Lawrence, it is said, did not return to his ship that night with the other officers, but walked restlessly in the park, waiting for the daylight and the men from whom he expected to get volunteers. This part of the story, however, seems improbable. However, whether he spent the night as thus described, or returned under the starlit sky in his own boat, his frame of mind might well be described by the words that Scott has put into the mouth of Leicester:

"I had never more need that the heavenly bodies should befriend me, for my earthly path is darkened and confused."

Unconsciously he was nearing the goal with his burden strapped upon his back.

Between eight and nine o'clock the next morning, Lieutenant Budd, who was officer-of-the-deck of the "Chesa-

peake," discovered a sail in the offing, which he supposed to be a frigate, and he immediately sent a midshipman to report it to Captain Lawrence. The latter came on deck, inquired where the sail was, and went up the main rigging himself to look-out. When he came down he told the officer-of-the-deck that the stranger was a frigate, and a large one, and ordered all hands to unmoor ship.* He then hailed a passing pilot-boat and directed him to reconnoitre outside the harbor and ascertain if the frigate was alone.

When all hands were called to unmoor ship, Lawrence directed them to muster aft on the quarterdeck, where he made them a patriotic speech, as was the custom of the times. He told them that a frigate was in sight, and that it was his intention to go out and bring her to action. He pointed to the flag at the peak and exhorted the crew to die, sooner than see the colors dishonored, and closed his remarks by reminding them of the "Hornet's" splendid victory, and urged them when they closed with the Englishman to "'Peacock' her, my lads, 'Peacock' her."

A number of the men appeared to be dissatisfied, and two of them, Joseph Russell, the boatswain's mate, and Henry Thompson, gunner's mate, told Lawrence that they had not received their prize money for the last cruise, and that they wanted it to pay their debts. Lawrence directed Budd to send the men down to the Purser by twos or threes at a time for their prize money, and the crew then proceeded to unmoor ship.†

Lawrence then returned to his cabin and wrote two let-

* Testimony of Lt. Budd before the Court of Inquiry relating to the capture of the U. S. Frigate "Chesapeake," by H. B. M. S. "Shannon." MSS. Archives, Navy Department.

† *Ibid.*

ters, one to the Secretary of the Navy, the other to his brother-in-law. The first one was dated "Boston, June 1," and addressed to the Secretary:

Since I had the honor of addressing you last, I have been detained for want of men. I am now getting under way to carry into execution the instructions you have honored me with. An English frigate is now in sight from my deck; I have sent a pilot boat out to reconnoitre, and should she be alone, I am in hopes to give a good account of her before night. *My crew appear to be in fine spirits, and I trust will do their duty.**

Lieutenant Page is so ill as to be unable to go to sea in the ship. At the earnest request of Acting Lieutenant Pierce, I have granted him permission to go on shore; one inducement for my granting his request was his being at variance with every officer in his mess. Commodore Bainbridge has ordered Midshipmen Cox and Ballard to act until your pleasure is known. They are both fine young men, and I am confident from their long service, will do everything that can be expected from any commissioned lieutenant.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JAMES LAWRENCE.

The other letter was addressed to Mr. James Montaudevert, his brother-in-law, and was probably the last letter Lawrence ever wrote.

June 1st.

DEAR JAMES:—

By the enclosed you will perceive that Bainbridge and myself have had a serious difference. However, it is in a manner done away in consequence of an explanation had last evening. An English frigate is close in with the light-house, and we are now clearing ship for action. Should I be so unfortunate as to be taken off, I leave my wife and children to your care, and feel confident you will behave to them the same as if they were your own. Remember me affectionately to our good mother, Mary, and Cox, and believe me, Sincerely yours,

J. LAWRENCE.

* The italics are the author's.

P. S. The frigate is plain in sight from our deck and we are now getting under way.

At the time Lawrence was writing his last letters, Broke's challenge was just starting on its journey to Boston. Had Lawrence received it, it is possible that he would have given himself more time to prepare for the engagement. As it was, he decided to fight at once, and having assumed the lists, like Pericles of old, he asked advice of no other thought but faithfulness and courage.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BATTLE.

On the ninth of May, while lying off Boston, Captain Broke in a letter to his wife, said: "We have now little hope but of meeting the 'Chesapeake' who is nearly ready." And on the thirty-first of May, the day before the battle, "All fog and rain these days, and chance sight of strangers through the gloom. Fog again, so no prospect at all; however, we hope better fortunes. *'Chesapeake' is not gone.*"

But the next day, the first of the month of brides and roses, dawned clear and bright, with light southwesterly winds, and at daylight the "Shannon" was plainly visible standing off and on across the Bay. Early in the morning as we have seen, she approached the light-house, and by sign language known only to seamen, invited the "Chesapeake" to mortal combat. The wind was fair and the tide served, but Lawrence did not get under way until the boat that he had sent out to reconnoitre returned with the information that the "Tenedos" had gone, and that the "Shannon" was alone.

It was noon when the "Chesapeake" finally lifted her anchor and made sail, standing out of the Roads through the Narrows, before the wind under royals and stun' sails. At 1:30 P. M., she rounded the light-house, and then steered to head-off the "Shannon" which was then nearly hull down to the northward and eastward.

The men were at dinner when the "Chesapeake" passed the old Boston Light, and as they assembled around the mess clothes, which were spread on deck between the guns, Lawrence walking along the deck, remarked to them, "Bear a hand, boys, and get your dinner; you will have blood for supper."*

On the way out, the ship was cleared for action, and the battle flags hoisted at the mast heads, the national ensign at the peak, at the mizzen truck, and in the starboard main rigging; and at the fore, a large white flag with the legend on it,—"Sailors' Rights and Free Trade;" the latter phrase meaning *unmolested* trade.

Recently from the Navy Yard, her sides freshly painted, glistening in the sunset glow, and with ports open and guns loaded, the "Chesapeake" presented a strong contrast to the rust-stained and weather-beaten "Shannon," which had been keeping the sea for twenty months.

In appearance, at least, alow and aloft, she was worthy of her commander.

Lawrence had dressed himself for the battle with particular care, in full uniform.† He wore a cocked hat,

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* Affidavit of Benj. Trefethan, Boston, 1881. Trefethan must be accepted as a witness with caution. He was a very old man when his affidavit was made, and the events he described had occurred nearly seventy years before. Captain William Parker, in his delightful Recollections of a Naval Officer, makes one of his characters corroborate a doubtful sea-yarn by declaring "a sailor man told me, and 'tain't likely as how a sailor man would lie."

† This recalls a story of Captain Rotheram, who at the battle of Trafalgar, when a volley of musketry swept his quarter-deck and killed several men near him, replied to an officer who begged him to go below and remove his cocked hat and epaulets, "No, sir, I have always fought in a cocked hat, and I always shall."

heavy gold epaulets and blue laced-coat buttoned across his chest, white trousers, and as was the naval fashion of that day, top boots. His hair was braided in a queue and tied with black ribbon. Trumpet in hand, he stood on one of the gun slides, where he could better direct the movements of the ship. Large and imposing, "a very castle of a man," as was once said of James Fenimore Cooper, he was, unfortunately, a conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharpshooters. "In eye, in profile, in figure," to borrow, and somewhat to change, the eloquent words of General Lawton's eulogist: "This man of the 'Chesapeake,' is the incarnation of some shining helmeted warrior who fell upon the sands of Palestine in the First Crusades, with the red blood welling over his corselet, and his two-handled battle-sword shivered to the hilt." The supreme hour for which his whole life had been a training was at hand, when in the words of Goethe's lines, he was

> To show that mortals
> A calm sublimity of God's can feel.

Even James, the English writer whose history treats of the war with the heat of an advocate, rather than with the coolness of an annalist, remarks, "Gallant, truly gallant was the behavior of Captain Lawrence." And Midshipman Raymond of the "Shannon" wrote, "He certainly came down in a most brave and officer-like manner, but he was too confident." Years afterward, Admiral Wallis said: "Lawrence displayed great skill and tactics when closing with us to prevent our fire, which, however, we did not attempt, as Broke had given orders not to fire whilst the gallant fellow kept his head toward us."

Standing near Captain Lawrence on the quarter-deck was his Sailing Master, Lieutenant Augustus White, and near at hand his two aides, Midshipman James Curtis and W. E. McKenney, the latter a lad of fourteen.

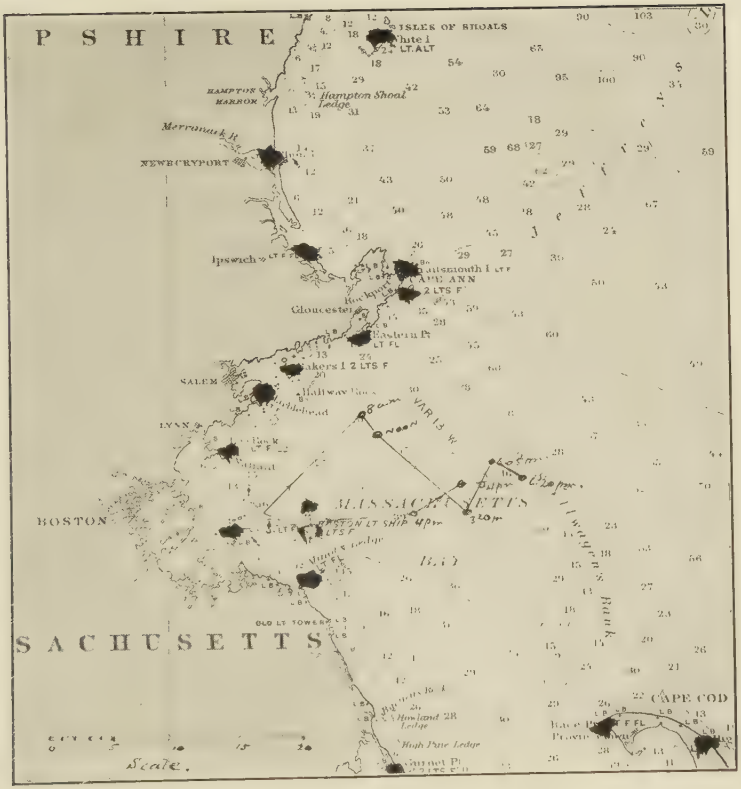
Lieutenant Ludlow had charge of the deck under the direction of the Captain; the Boatswain, Mr. Adams, who was in the "Constitution" when she captured the "Java," and Midshipman Fisher were on the forecastle.

On the gun-deck forward Lieutenant George Budd commanded the first division of guns, Lieutenant Cox, the second, and Lieutenant Ballard, the after or third division, which comprised guns number eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen.

The midshipmen were variously distributed on the decks, at the guns and in the tops. The Chaplain, Samuel Livermore of Boston, who volunteered for the fight, and who had only come on board that morning, was on the quarter-deck just abaft the main mast. The crew were at their quarters, the magazines opened and the guns loaded. Down in the cockpit, Surgeon Richard Edgar and his mate Dr. Dix, were ready with their assistants to receive the wounded.

In this way the "Chesapeake" started her last cruise, which began at noon and ended before sundown.

The "Shannon" which had been laying to about twelve miles S.S.W. from Cape Ann, filled and kept away to gain an offing, as soon as she was certain that the "Chesapeake" was coming out. At 3:30 she hauled up closer to the wind, and at 3:40 took in her top-gallant sails, and hauled down the stay sails. At four o'clock, the "Chesapeake" hauled up, hoisted the jib and stay sails, and fired a gun. The ships were now about seven miles apart, and the "Shannon" at once reefed topsails, and



TRACK CHART OF CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON JUNE 1, 1813

hove to on the starboard tack with her head to the southward and eastward to permit the "Chesapeake" to overtake her. At 4:30 the wind shifted to S.W. blowing fresh. The "Chesapeake" took in her light sails, and sent down the royal yards, and at 5 P. M., hove to and discharged the pilot. The crew were then called to general quarters and the battery cast loose. Lawrence went down on the gun deck and personally inspected the preparations, and when in answer to his question, Lieutenant Budd informed him that his guns were loaded with one round shot and a grape, Lawrence ordered canister and bar shot to be put in besides.*

At 5:30 the "Shannon," in order to keep under command, that is to keep enough speed to render the ship manageable, filled the main topsail and hoisted the jib, steering close to the wind and heading S.S.E.; in a few minutes having gained way enough, she shivered the main topsail and lay to again under topsails, jib and spanker. Her jolly boat which had been used earlier in the day to board a fishing vessel, and which had been left down to be clear of the stern guns, was towing astern. At this time the "Chesapeake" was on the "Shannon's" weather quarter, distant about three miles, when she hauled up the courses and stood directly for the "Shannon" under topsails, jib and fore topmast staysail with the yards braced sharp up and the sheets flat aft,† closing fast, as if eager for the battle, but being careful to keep abaft the "Shannon's" line of fire.

Lawrence was now in a position to do one of two things, either of which would have given him a great advantage; he could have crossed the "Shannon's" wake

* Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry relating to the capture of the "Chesapeake."

† Captain R. H. King, R.N.

and raked her, or he could have passed two hundred or three hundred yards to windward, exchanged broadsides and then laid across her bows, and raked her from forward. Broke expected the first manœuvre and accordingly cautioned his crew to "stand by to receive a raking fire from aft." Broke had allowed his ship to lie dead in the water, or nearly so, and as the "Chesapeake" must have had a speed of at least six or seven knots when she closed, she could have chosen her own position without hindrance, before the "Shannon" could gather headway sufficient to manœuvre quickly. As the challenger, Broke doubtless felt it incumbent to give Lawrence every advantage, but, if so, Lawrence declined to profit by it. As the "Chesapeake" approached the "Shannon," Lieutenant White asked Lawrence if he intended to run across the "Shannon's" stern, to which Lawrence replied that he did not, and then suiting his actions to his words, he called out to the Quartermaster at the wheel, "Luff her!" intending to lay the "Chesapeake" yard-arm to yard-arm with the English frigate. Instantly Broke saw what his intentions were, and manned his starboard battery. The ships were only about forty yards apart when the "Chesapeake's" helm was put down, and the orders given on each ship were plainly heard on the other. The crew of the "Chesapeake" were as much surprised as the enemy at the manœuvre but as the "Chesapeake" turned on her heel, and threw her head into the wind, the man standing at the guns voluntarily gave three cheers of defiance. It was gallant, but it was not war. When Hillyar fought Porter at Valparaiso a year afterward, he brushed sentiment aside and even went so far to the other extreme of taking advantage of his defeated adversary, that his

THE CHESAPEAKE BEGINNING THE ACTION

own first lieutenant is said to have begged him to close and make a more equal fight of it.*

It is well now to bear in mind the relative positions of the two ships at 4:30 P. M., when the "Chesapeake" hauled by the wind, and the "Shannon" hove to. It was a cardinal principle of sailing tactics that when receiving an attack from to-windward, a ship must not permit the enemy to get in her wake, for the reason that the latter could then gain a position of advantage across the stern to rake; and then luffing up engage from lee-ward. A ship thus caught by an enemy once in her wake, would be at a serious disadvantage, for as Sir Howard Douglass says, in discussing a supposititious but similar case, "If he tack to avoid it (a raking fire from aft) he would be severely punished in stays by a fire in great part diagonal. If he hangs in stays he will be utterly destroyed, and in coming around upon the other tack, he may fall off nearly end-on toward the other ship. If, on the contrary, he bear up to avoid being raked, his opponent may luff, too, and rake him before he can get away."

When Broke observed the "Chesapeake" haul by the wind, his obvious manœuvre was to tack and stand toward her, opening fire as soon as he came within range, and after that, so working his ship as to keep his guns bearing steadily on the "Chesapeake," at the same time deadening his headway as much as possible. He would have thus gained a position of decided tactical advantage, and his undoubted superiority in markmanship, attained by many years of patient training, would have probably enabled him to choose and maintain his range until he was ready to come to close action. In the absence of contrary testimony, it cannot be doubted that Lawrence

* Life of Farragut—Mahan.

expected Broke to meet him in this way, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he imagined that the tactics of his fight with the "Peacock" would be, in a measure, repeated with the "Shannon." But Broke interpreting this movement of the "Chesapeake's" to mean that Lawrence thought he was drawing him out too far, immediately backed his main top-tail, whereupon the "Chesapeake" filled again and stood toward him. However, as Lawrence approached the "Shannon" and observed her lying almost dead in the water, he must have realized at once that Broke, accomplished seaman that he was, had purposely failed to take the advantage that so clearly might have been his, and, therefore, not to be outdone in gallantry, he on his part, decided not to avail himself of the opportunity thus offered, and, therefore, when he got in position, instead of putting his helm up and laying across the "Shannon's" stern, he put his helm down and luffed up on her quarter, intending as has been stated to engage yard-arm to yard-arm.

If this reasoning is correct it is hard to see how Lawrence could have acted differently. To have raked the "Shannon" under such circumstances would have been at utter variance with all his ideas of honor and good faith, which in such particulars, were almost Quixotic.

Was not Burr accounted a murderer because he shot his opponent after the latter had fired his own shot into the air, although he acted in strict accordance with his rights?

Broke, who was a very conscientious man, had doubtless felt that it was his duty as challenger to give the "Chesapeake" every possible advantage, but he underestimated Lawrence's appreciation of his conduct, for he evidently expected the "Chesapeake" to cross his wake, because, as already stated, he cautioned his crew to stand by

DIAGRAM OF ACTION BETWEEN CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON

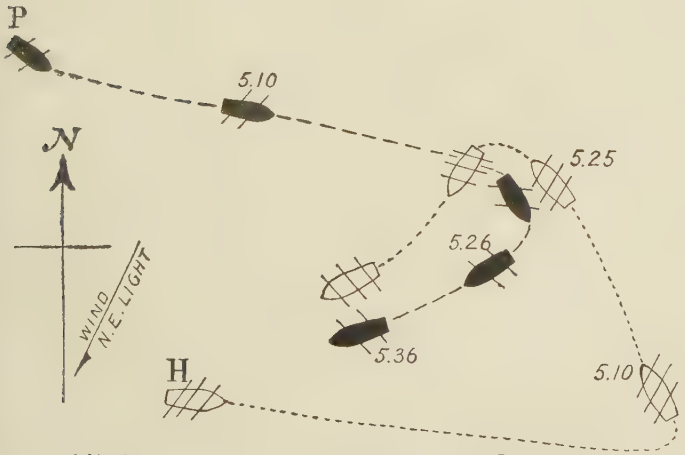


DIAGRAM OF ACTION BETWEEN HORNET AND PEACOCK

to receive a raking fire from aft. Both men acted from the purest and highest motives, but both erred in assuming that war is anything else than a desperate game in which it is the duty of those who conduct it always to strike the hardest blow.

While the "Chesapeake" is closing for action, let us glance at the "Shannon." Broke had retired for a few moments to his cabin. The author of the Memoir of Sir Philip Broke says: "What passed in that solemn hour no living creature now on earth can tell, but we know enough of the warrior to feel assured that he committed himself and the wife and children then sleeping the sleep of the peaceful in England to the great God he had so long confessed and honored."

When he returned to the quarter-deck, he addressed his men, in substance, as follows:

"Shannons, you know that from various causes the Americans have lately triumphed on several occasions over the British Flag in our frigates; this will not daunt you since you know the truth. The disparity of forces was the chief reason, but they have gone further; they have said, and they have published in their papers that the English have forgotten the way to fight. You will let them know to-day that there are Englishmen in the 'Shannon' who still know how to fight. Don't try to dismast her, fire into her quarters; main-deck into the main-deck; quarter-deck into the quarter-deck. Kill the men and the ship is yours. Don't hit them about the head for they wear steel caps, but give it to them through the body. Don't cheer. Go quietly to your quarters. I feel sure you will all do your duty, and remember that you now have the blood of your countrymen to avenge."

The men went to their quarters, and the officers went to their stations. Broke, with his Aide, and the First Lieutenant, and Marine Officer, remained on the quarter-deck. In the gangway were the Purser, the Clerk and Sergeant Molyneux.

Impressed with the "Chesapeake's" gala appearance, one of the crew of the "Shannon" requested Broke to display more bunting. "No, sir," said the sturdy Englishman. "We have always been a modest ship; one flag is enough for us, but as I know you never intend it to come down, it shall be lashed to the peak." To another, Jacob West, who had been in the "Guerrière," and who said, "I hope, sir, you will give us revenge for the 'Guerrière' to-day," Broke replied, "You shall have it, my man; go to your quarters."

The ship was steered by James Coull, a veteran of Trafalgar. During the engagement this man was wounded in the wrist, and, although the ball shattered his arm, he refused to leave the wheel until the boarders were called away, and then he followed his Captain to the quarter-deck of the "Chesapeake," and during the hand-to-hand fight that took place there he lost his arm altogether.*

Wallis and Faulkner commanded the main deck guns. On his way to his Division Wallis gave his watch to the Gunner, Mr. Meehan, with the request to send it to his father if he should be killed. The Gunner carried it with him to the magazine, and the official and generally accepted time of the engagement was taken by this watch.†

From the stern of the "Shannon" Broke and Watt were watching the manœuvres of the "Chesapeake," and as soon as Broke saw that Lawrence intended to luff up on his weather quarter, he gave the order to man the starboard battery and directed the main deck battery not to fire until all their guns could bear on the second bow port of the "Chesapeake." When he passed

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* Memoir of Sir Provo Wallis—Brighton.

† *Ibid.*

THE SHANNON BOARDING THE CHESAPEAKE

this word himself through the cabin skylight, a man named Rowlands, who had been Captain of the main top in the "Guerrière," exclaimed, "Oh, that's the man for me; she's ours."

Broke then took his station in the starboard gangway to watch the effect of his shot.

So suddenly had Lawrence put his helm down that the "Chesapeake" came quickly to the wind, but did not lose her headway, and as she forged along the "Shannon's" beam, there was a breathless silence on both ships until the "Chesapeake's" foremast came abreast the "Shannon's" mizzenmast, when at 5:55 the two ships being within pistol shot, William Windham, the Captain of the "Shannon's" after or fourteenth main-deck gun, and the coxswain of the gig, pulled his lock lanyard;* a second after the "Shannon" fired her after quarter-deck carronade, and then her thirteenth main-deck gun. The "Chesapeake" commenced with musketry and fired her first great gun immediately after the "Shannon's" three first.† Then one after the other the guns on both ships were fired in rapid succession.

The batteries do not seem to have been discharged simultaneously in broadsides, but "at will," that is, the guns were fired independently, but as rapidly as they could be served. For several minutes the ships were on parallel courses, broadside to broadside, and the "Chesapeake" fired three rounds, but the headway of the "Chesapeake" soon carried her to the bow of the "Shannon," when the jib sheet, weather fore clew garnet and fore topsail tie having been shot away, and the

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* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke—Brighton.

† Captain R. H. King, R.N.

spanker brails and tiller ropes cut, and three men killed in succession at the wheel and the wheel itself broken, she flew up into the wind; the helm a-lee, her sails caught aback, she gathered stern-board, and with a network of cut rigging trailing out ahead from the head booms as she drifted astern she fell on board the "Shannon," the poop rail catching the "Shannon's" sheet anchor, which was stowed in the main chains. The ships were thus temporarily locked together, and the "Shannon's" boatswain, Mr. Stephens, a man who had fought in Rodney's action, attempted to pass a lashing around the "Chesapeake's" rail, but in doing so his arm was literally hacked off by a cutlass.

According to the best authority the firing from the great guns ceased in six minutes, and Sir Provo Wallis asserts that the entire action was over in eleven minutes, but while it endured, the effect on both ships was terrific, as they were too close for any shots to miss.

The first fire of the "Shannon" swept the "Chesapeake's" spar-deck, killing and wounding one hundred out of the one hundred and fifty men, and converting the ship into a shambles. Ludlow stated that after the first fire he did not see fifty men on their legs on the upper-deck.* After that, and before the ships fouled, the casualties among the officers followed with appalling rapidity. Lawrence himself was wounded by a pistol ball under the knee almost at the first fire. Lieutenant White's head was taken off by a round shot, Midshipmen John Evans and Courtlandt Livingston, of New York, were instantly killed. Ballard, on the gun-deck, lost a leg and died shortly afterward. Lieutenant Broome, of the Marines, and Midshipman Hopewell were mortally

* Captain R. H. King, R.N.

wounded. Boatswain Adams was so badly injured that he died after the battle. Ludlow also was twice desperately wounded and taken below. From the first and second main-deck guns alone eight men were thrown overboard immediately after the "Shannon" opened the battle.

A contemporary truly remarks "that the world never witnessed so destructive a fire from so limited a broadside in so short a space." These casualties left the spar-deck without any of the senior officers, while Lieutenant Budd and Acting Lieutenant Cox were the only officers besides the midshipmen left on the gun-deck.

When the "Chesapeake" fouled the "Shannon," and hung there with her head in the wind, she was exposed to a raking fire from the "Shannon's" waist and after guns, and at the same time from a cross fire also from the bow and forward waist guns, while on the other hand she was unable to bring any of her own guns to bear on the "Shannon" except a few that were mounted well aft. The carronades of the "Shannon" now relentlessly played upon the "Chesapeake," driving in her stern ports, smashing her boats, and sweeping the spar deck with a hurricane of grape, canister and solid shot. The Shannon's" guns drove clouds of splinters across the deck of the "Chesapeake" in smoke blasts from her guns, so continuously that, according to the men in the tops, the "Chesapeake's" decks were almost obscured "with a mist of débris, as the mist of spoon drift in a pelting gale."

Just before the ships fouled, and in the midst of this holocaust, a hand grenade thrown from the "Shannon's" main top, exploded a box of ammunition on the poop deck of the "Chesapeake," "which spread a fire on her upper deck, from the foremast to the mizzenmast, as high

as her tops, and enveloped both ships in smoke for several minutes."

Lawrence, though suffering greatly from his wound, and bleeding profusely, leaned against the starboard binnacle and continued to handle the ship "calm as deepest sea" in the midst of the carnage.

When he saw that a collision was inevitable, he limped across the deck to the port side, and, in a clear voice, without using his trumpet, ordered the boarders called away.* Lawrence had once said to an officer that owing to our immense superiority in gunnery, he would never board an enemy until his own masts were disabled. He was now forced to resort to attempt this manœuvre, as the two ships were locked together, and the one who got his boarders together first would have a great advantage. As there was no response from the bugler to sound the call for boarders, Lawrence directed Midshipman McKenney to jump below and pass the word on the gun-deck; at the same time Ludlow sang out the order down the main hatch. Chaplain Livermore who was on the quarter-deck, and only ten or twelve feet from Lawrence, says that when the boarders were called most of the men on the quarter-deck and in the gangways ran forward, and after this no guns were fired from the quarter-deck and only a few from the after gun-deck division (Ballard's), but two or three guns were fired from the "Shannon." At this time there was less noise and confusion on the "Chesapeake" than there had been previously, but there was considerable musketry fire from the tops.†

Midshipman Curtis had followed the Captain across

* Proceedings of a General Court-Martial of certain officers and men of the "Chesapeake."

† *Ibid.*

THE CHESAPEAKE FOULING THE SHANNON

the deck, and, observing that the bugler did not blow the call for the boarders, he jumped to the after end of the booms, where the bugler was stationed, and found him stowed away in one of the boats almost paralyzed with terror. Curtis dragged him out* and ordered him to sound the Rally, but *vox faucibus haesit,* he was unable to blow a note. Curtis then jumped below on the gun-deck and passed the word there himself. Before Curtis reached the gun-deck, Cox, whose division was near the main hatch and had heard Ludlow's order, had already hastened to the spar-deck, followed closely by Wm. Gardner, a seaman of his Division and captain of No. 8 gun. Curtis passed forward to the first division and informed Lieutenant Budd that the boarders had been called. Budd managed to get on the spar-deck and thence ran aft to the starboard side of the quarter-deck abaft the fife rail, followed by Midshipman Fisher, where he found twenty or so Americans collected, and as many other men, whom he did not know to be the enemy until he saw their uniform, passing to the forecastle,† and who were probably the "Shannon's" first division of boarders. Sixty or seventy more English sailors had climbed over the rail and were then on the "Chesapeake's" quarter. At this time there was a lull in the battle, and Budd perceived for the first time that the ships were foul of each other. Seeing neither the Captain nor Ludlow, he called out to the Boatswain, Peter Adams, to "board the fore tack and haul aft the head sheets immediately in

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* It has been a tradition in his family, that Midshipman Curtis snatched the bugle from the frightened negro, and blew the call himself, but there is no direct mention of this in the testimony of Mr. Curtis before the court-martial.

† Proceedings of a General Court-Martial of certain officers and men of the "Chesapeake."

order to shoot her head clear of the 'Shannon.'" Mr. Adams replied: "I can't do it immediately, sir; they are shot away."*

It was evident then that seamanship could no longer play any part in saving the ship, and Budd attempted to rally the boarders. The Englishmen, headed by Broke, had at that time gotten on board the "Chesapeake," and Chaplain Livermore, who was in the thick of the fight, expressed the opinion a few months afterward, in Boston, that if twenty or thirty more men had been assembled with Budd, the fate of the battle would have been different. But as Mr. Owen Wister truly says in his sketch of General Grant: "Guessing what might have been, helps history no better than the *post mortem* cures the patient."

It must be acknowledged that as soon as Lawrence and Ludlow fell and the guns of the "Chesapeake" became useless as weapons, the crew, who had done such splendid battery practice, seem to have lost their heads completely. The marines, however, under the command of Sergeant John Twiss, did splendid work. Out of forty-four men who composed the guard, twelve were killed and twenty wounded. Most of the men on the quarter-deck rushed forward to the forecastle, and the excitement, which almost amounted to a panic, quickly spread to the gun-deck, where the men who had scattered from their Divisions, also rushed to the forward hatches in a wild attempt to reach the berth deck. This deplorable condition would never have existed had not the senior officers of the ship been either killed or wounded, and the crew left without any one to direct them.

* Proceedings of a General Court-Martial of certain officers and men of the "Chesapeake."

A few men joined Budd, but they were quickly overpowered and he fell severely wounded, but was soon up again and made another gallant effort to save his ship, but was again knocked down. He succeeded eventually in getting to the gun-deck where, at his request, one of the midshipmen assisted him to the cockpit.

Lieutenant Cox, who reached the quarter-deck a little before Budd, had a different experience, and one that cost him his commission in the navy. His division was on the gun-deck, and, according to the testimony of Midshipman Delozier Higginbotham, he animated and cheered his men as long as his guns could bear on the enemy. Cox heard Ludlow call the boarders, at the same time he received the order from McKenney, and he left his division at once to join them. When he got on the spar-deck he saw Lawrence leaning against the starboard binnacle, his white trousers streaked with blood, and evidently badly wounded; ordering the boarders to "rush on," he left them and went to the Captain's assistance himself.* As he was then the senior officer on the spar-deck, and it was perfectly apparent that the situation of the ship was extremely critical, it was wretched judgment to leave the deck, even to carry below his Commanding Officer. At this moment, when his own men were getting on deck, Lawrence was seen to stagger and fall. A musket ball, fired by Lieutenant Low, of the Marines, who had recognized him and had taken deliberate aim, struck him in the groin.† As he fell, he exclaimed, "Fire away, lads," and while he lay on the deck, he continued to call for the boarders. Cox, assisted by four seamen, immediately carried him below. Lawrence was very

* Proceedings of a General Court-Martial of certain officers and men of the "Chesapeake."

† Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

angry as he perceived the disorder on his own decks, and as the men carefully worked their way down the narrow ladder with their helpless burden, he cried out: "Don't surrender the ship," and then, recognizing Cox, directed him to return to his quarters. Cox accompanied the party as far as the steerage hatch, but does not seem to have gone farther below. It was then impossible for him to get back to the spar-deck owing to the enemy's marines at the hatchways, so he joined the Fourth Division, the guns of which were the only ones in the ship that could bear on the enemy. Ballard had already been wounded and assisted below by Midshipman Horatio Beatty, leaving Midshipman Edmund M. Russell in charge of the division. Cox, with his own hands, helped to depress and fire gun No. 13. It was the last gun fired on board the "Chesapeake." Cox then went forward on the gun-deck, sword in hand, and found the men swarming down the fore hatch. There were then only about thirty men left on the gun-deck, and only a few of these were armed; others from the spar-deck were crowding down through the fore-scuttle. With an oath he angrily demanded what they were jumping below for, but unfortunately he made no active attempt to check them, and when Midshipman Higginbotham, who had just assisted Lieutenant Budd below, asked if he should cut them down, Cox replied: "No, sir; it is of no use." A few minutes afterward the English had possession of the gun-deck, and the English flag was hoisted at the peak above the American ensign.*

Lawrence was carried to the cockpit already filled with wounded and dying, and Doctor Edgar immediately hastened to his side, and was supporting him when Dr.

* Proceedings of a General Court-Martial of certain officers and men of the "Chesapeake."

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SITGREAVES COX

Dix also came to his aid. Lawrence inquired for Midshipmen Curtis and McKenney, but was informed that they were both on deck. When Lawrence saw Dix, he said: "No; serve those who came before me, Doctor; I can wait my turn." He lay in excruciating pain until the Surgeon's return. By this time the firing had ceased and the noise on the deck had slackened. Lawrence inquired the cause, and then added: "Go on deck, and order them to fire faster and to fight the ship till she sinks; never strike; let the colors wave while I live." Doctor Dix attempted to execute the order, but was prevented by the enemy's fire from getting on deck.

Ludlow was the next officer brought below; his head was cloven almost in twain by a sabre cut, and when Lawrence recognized him, he exclaimed sharply:

"What brings you here?"

"They have carried her," replied Ludlow, still conscious, but very weak from loss of blood and his terrible wound.

"Then the officers have not toed the mark," exclaimed Lawrence; "she was whipped when I left the deck."

Then, turning to Surgeon Edgar, he said: "Doctor, go on deck and tell the Commanding Officer to keep the guns going and fight the ship till she sinks. The flag shall wave while I live." But he immediately countermanded the order and directed the Surgeon to send the loblolly boy with the order.

He called out repeatedly:

"Don't give up the ship. Blow her up."*

Let us now return to the "Shannon."

* Recently an attempt has been made to show that Lawrence did not use these words at all, but that they originated with the editor of the Boston *Sentinel*. The story is that a sailor, who escaped from the "Chesapeake," made his way to Boston, arriv-

From the gangway Broke had seen his first shot strike full on the bow of the "Chesapeake," and then, satisfied with the shooting, he returned to the quarter-deck. When he observed that the "Chesapeake's" stern board was bringing her down on him, he tried to pay off by putting his helm up and shivering his mizzen topsail, but just at that time his jib stay was shot away, and the ship in consequence of not getting the jib sheet aft, fell off so slowly that it was impossible to get clear of the "Chesapeake," which, as we have seen, struck the "Shannon" with her stern amidships, and hung there; the ships being so close together that on board the "Shannon" rope-rammers were used to load the guns. The "Chesapeake" now lay alongside the "Shannon," the latter's main mast being in line with her taffrail.*

The "Shannon" had also suffered severely from the gun fire, but there was no confusion or panic among the crew.

One of the "Chesapeake's" 12-pounder shot had passed through the quarter, struck a chocking-quoin of one of the after guns, and hurled it against one of the gun-captains, breaking his knee cap into fragments. This shot just

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ing there about midnight of the day of the fight, and went at once to the office of the editor, Major Benjamin Russell, who after receiving from the man an account of the fight, asked him what were Lawrence's last words. The sailor did not know. The editor said, "Did he not say 'Don't give up the ship'? Well —I'll make him say it anyway." This story was printed in a New York paper, and was widely circulated.

It requires no demonstration to show the absurdity of this story. No sailor escaped from the "Chesapeake"; the battle was fought at sunset, thirty miles at sea; and besides in those days especially, when a sailor got on shore from his ship he was not apt to seek newspaper offices.

* Captain R. H. King, R.N.

"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP."—LAWRENCE

From an engraving. Reproduced by courtesy of W. C. Crane, Esq.

missed Captain Broke, who was standing near the gun. One of the men at the same time received a grape-shot in his abdomen, and, refusing to go below, begged his shipmates to put their hands in the wound and take it out.* The "Shannon's" list of killed at this period of the fight was almost as long as the "Chesapeake's," but she had lost none of her principal officers—a fact that had a most important bearing on the issue of the action.

Broke saw at once the confusion and disorder that prevailed on board his antagonist, and that no officers were on deck, and also, as he expressed it, "that the men were flinching at the guns." He threw down his trumpet, and, calling out, "Follow me, who can," jumped over the "Shannon's" rail just abaft the fore rigging, to the muzzle of the "Chesapeake's" after carronade, and thence over the bulwarks upon the quarter-deck, followed by Watt and Falkner, leading the main-deck boarders and the men from the quarter-deck, and immediately afterward by several forecastle men.† As the Englishmen climbed over the hammock nettings the sharpshooters in the "Chesapeake's" mizzen-top, in charge of Midshipman Berry, poured down upon them a brisk fire, which mortally wounded Midshipman Samwell, of the Royal Navy, and slightly wounded Lieutenant Watt in the foot. But on deck the boarders met with no opposition except from Chaplain Livermore, who fired his pistol at Captain Broke, and made a blow at his head, which Broke warded off, and in return almost severed the Chaplain's arm with his

* Memoirs of Sir Philip Broke.

† In the days of smooth bore guns, and the sailing period, half a gun's crew were boarders whose duty it was either to board an enemy, or to repel boarders; they were armed with cutlass and pistol. The practice of boarding has become practically extinct from the changed conditions of naval warfare.

Toledo blade.* There was not a soul on the quarter-deck, and only twenty-five or thirty men in the gangways. These quickly retreated to the forecastle, and attempted to get below, but, choking the hatches in their wild flight, some went over the bows and entered the gun-deck through the bridle ports. The remainder threw down their arms and submitted.

The "Chesapeake" was a flush deck ship and there were only two hatches by which the men could get from one deck to the other, and as soon as the English boarded, according to Midshipman Raymond, of the "Shannon," they put the gratings on the after hatch and secured it, so that the Americans were compelled to use the fore hatch and fore scuttle.

Soon after Broke boarded, the "Chesapeake's" head fell off until her sails filled; the lashings parted and she forged ahead across the bow of the "Shannon." Immediately a cry was raised on board the "Shannon" to cease firing. Lieutenant Wallis, of the "Shannon," who was now in command of that ship (the Captain and First Lieutenant having both boarded the "Chesapeake"), hurried up from his guns on the main deck and took charge of the quarter-deck. He at once comprehended the gravity of the situation, but was soon reassured by a hail from the "Chesapeake" from one of his own men, "We have possession." He was also directed to send the jolly boat to the "Chesapeake" with more men.†

As soon as Lieutenant Watt got on board the "Chesapeake," he made his way to the signal halliards and began hauling down the American flag. It was one of his fads to have an English flag at hand whenever an

* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

† Captain R. H. King, R.N.

engagement was probable, to be ready to hoist over the enemy's colors, and that day, when the "Shannon" was cleared for action, he had placed an ensign on the capstan, stopped up and already for hoisting. When the call was sounded for the boarders, Watt with the flag in one hand and his sword in the other, followed Broke and the advanced boarders to the "Chesapeake's" quarter-deck. Unfortunately in the excitement of the battle, instead of hoisting the English colors above the American, he bent them on underneath, and as they were observed to rise above the smoke in this order, the "Shannon" immediately reopened fire, and a shot from one of her main deck guns passing over the head of an English quartermaster named Edward Rexworthy, who was assisting Watt to hoist the colors, struck Watt and killed him instantly, together with four or five of his party. The mistake was soon discovered and the firing again ceased.*

In the meantime Broke was engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand fight on the forecastle. After the little group of men had surrendered to him, or at least, yielded, Broke stationed a sentry at the hatch, and sent the rest of his men aft to assist in the fight that was now raging on the quarter-deck between Budd's men and the other boarders from the "Shannon." He was giving orders to answer the fire from the tops, when the sentry called to him. Turning around the Captain found himself attacked by three of the "Chesapeake's" men, who seeing Broke alone, took up their arms again and tried to kill him, one with a pike, one with a cutlass and the third with a musket. Broke, who was a tall, powerful man, parried the pike, and wounded the man

* Memoir of Sir Provo Wallis.

in the face, but was immediately struck on the head with the butt end of the musket which laid his skull bare, and at the same time his head was laid open by a stroke of the cutlass which exposed his brain for two or three inches.

He fell to the deck covered with blood, but still conscious; in the struggle he had dropped his sword, and while feebly trying to find it, one of the American seamen tried to bayonet him. The gallant fellow grappled with his assailant, but was getting the worst of it, when a marine from the "Shannon" came up, and was about to thrust Captain Broke through with his bayonet, when the latter with great *sang froid*, and presence of mind, called out: "Poh, poh, you fool, don't you know your own Captain?"*

Most of the men of the "Chesapeake's" fore and main tops came down from aloft when the ship was boarded; the men in the mizzen top were driven out by Midshipman Cosnohan who opened on them from the "Shannon's" main yard.

After the English had obtained complete possession of the "Chesapeake," Midshipmen Randolph and Fleshman, who were stationed in the fore and main tops, were ordered by Lieutenant Falkner, who had been placed in command of the "Chesapeake," to "lay down on deck." As the midshipmen were coming down the shrouds in obedience to the order, Falkner sang out to some of his men: "Kill those damned rascals," and immediately several muskets were discharged at them, but happily without effect.†

In the mizzen top of the "Chesapeake" Midshipman William Berry was stationed, and being thus directly over

* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

† Affidavit of Wm. Berry, Midshipman, Washington, 1813.

A STRUGGLE ON THE FORECASTLE
From Brighton's "Memoirs of Sir Philip Broke"

the quarter-deck, he heard all the orders and saw the firing. Peering over the rim of the top, he was an eye-witness to a horrible deed transacted on the quarter-deck of the "Chesapeake": An American sailor with one of his legs shot off and leaving a stream of blood behind him was crawling across the deck toward one of the hatches, with the evident purpose of trying to get below. While Berry was watching his painful effort, he was horrified to see one of the "Shannon's" men step up and kill him outright with his cutlass.* Just at this time, Lieutenant Falkner looking up at the mizzen top, saw Berry, and immediately ordered three of his men to go aloft and "throw that damned Yankee overboard;" the English sailors ran aloft at once, and seizing Berry by the collar, said: "You damned Yankee, you shall swim for it," and attempted to throw him overboard, but the youngster got inside the rigging and resisted until one of the Englishmen kicked him in the breast, "which" (says Berry in his affidavit) "was the cause of my falling; being stunned by the fall, I lay some time senseless and when I came to, I was cut over the head with a cutlass, which nearly terminated my existence."

Finally all the Americans were driven below, the hatches secured, and the work of clearing up the decks begun, when according to the English account, some excitement was caused by one of the American seamen firing up through a hatch at a sentry. Lieutenant Falkner of the "Shannon" rushed forward and quelled the disturbance by threatening to turn the guns upon the prisoners. This firing aroused Broke who was sitting on a gun slide on the quarter-deck. On being

* Affidavit of Wm. Berry, Midshipman, Washington, 1813.

informed of the cause, he feebly directed the Americans to be driven into the hold, and then he fainted.* At this moment the jolly-boat arrived and Captain Broke and Lieutenant Ludlow were transferred to the "Shannon."†

The "Chesapeake" as has been stated had broken away from the "Shannon" and now was lying about one hundred yards on her starboard bow. The firing ceased entirely. The bloodiest ship duel ever fought was over, and two hundred and twenty-seven men lay killed and wounded. Night came down over the blood-stained waters of Massachusetts Bay, and the last glimmer of twilight fell upon the English flag floating triumphantly over the Stars and Stripes.

* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

† Captain R. H. King, R.N.

Note.—The account of the battle between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon," compiled by Rear Admiral G. H. Preble for the United Service Magazine, 1881, and the account of the battle by Captain R. H. King, R.N. (London, 1837), have been freely drawn upon in the preparation of this chapter. King was one of the "Shannon's" lieutenants, but was absent on detached duty at the time of the engagement.

THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE

THE BOARDING OF THE CHESAPEAKE BY THE SHANNON

From an old print in possession of W. C. Crane, Esq.

CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

The "Shannon's" account of the action is thus tersely recorded in her log:

At 5:50 (P. M.) commenced action within hail. After three broadsides the enemy appeared unmanageable, and having shot away our jib stay, fell on board of us. Grappled the enemy, and boarded him and after an action of ten minutes succeeded in hauling down his flag, pendant and ensigns. Cleared the enemy, and sent the jolly boat to exchange prisoners. In boarding, lost the life of Mr. Watt, and several men. Captain most severely wounded by one of the enemy while attempting to rescue him from one of his own men. Could not ascertain our loss, or that of the enemy from the lateness of the evening, and the greater part of the ship's company having boarded the "Chesapeake." Our yawl (having repaired her) sent her to exchange prisoners. Found our masts considerably wounded, and the rigging and the hull of the ship much cut up.

After the dead of both vessels had been committed to the sea, and the decks partially cleared up, and the rigging repaired, about nine o'clock, the "Shannon" headed for Halifax, followed close astern by the "Chesapeake" with a prize crew on board under command of Lieutenant Falkner, who had with him Midshipmen Smith, Raymond and Leake, and Lieutenant Jonns of the Marines. At 2:20 A. M., both ships were hove to and about fifty prisoners were sent to the "Shannon,"

and at four o'clock, the ships were again stopped and another lot was sent over.*

After the prize crew was sent on board the "Chesapeake," Captain Broke, as has been stated, was taken back to the "Shannon," and laid on a cot in the cabin. "Pray, take care of my good old sword," he said, and so they placed the sword by his side. When his clothes were loosened, they found a small blue locket around his neck containing a lock of his wife's hair. Soon afterward he became unconscious, and was for a long time in a wild delirium. In his rational intervals he spoke in the highest terms of the courage and skill of Lawrence, and of the "gallant and masterly style" in which he brought the "Chesapeake" into action.†

When Lieutenant Ludlow had been taken on board the "Shannon," where, it was thought, he would be more comfortable, he was left for a while unattended in the "Shannon's" steerage, and thinking, perhaps, that it was an intentional neglect, he called a sailor and said:

"Will you please tell the Commanding Officer of the 'Shannon' that Mr. Ludlow, First of the 'Chesapeake,' is lying here badly wounded." Shortly afterward he was placed in Lieutenant Watt's stateroom, where he received every possible attention and consideration.

Chaplain Livermore was confined on board the "Chesapeake" in Lieutenant Ludlow's stateroom. He stated before the court-martial that he never saw Captain Lawrence after the latter was removed from the quarter-deck; it would be interesting to know the reason of this and if he was refused permission to communicate with his chief.

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* Memoir of Sir Provo Wallis.

† Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

In the wardroom of the "Chesapeake" Lawrence was dying. It is the nature of such wounds when they are fatal either to produce a merciful bleeding to death in a few minutes, or a prolonged period of agonizing suffering from which there is no relief. It was his fate to linger four days.

He was just thirty-two years of age, but he had won conspicuous fame and had written his name on the beadroll of the nation's heroes. Down in the hold his own crew were imprisoned, hand-cuffed and ironed, and alien feet trod the deck which a few hours before had resounded to the willing tramp of Yankee tars. Strong to the last, and faithful to the end, not a murmur escaped his lips. Washington Irving, who had a personal interview with one of the surviving officers of the "Chesapeake," says:

"Here, surrounded by fragments of men, in the intervals of acute pain, he beguiled his friends of their sympathies by communicating freely on the subject of the battle, stating his plan and the cause, to which in his mind was attributed its failure in execution. It was thus he devoted the last of his moments to usefulness and instruction, teaching his friends how to improve upon his precedent, showing to survivors the way 'out of the wreck to rise.'"

The day after the battle, Lawrence requested that Doctor Jack of the "Shannon" might come on board. After the doctor had examined his wounds, Lawrence said:

"I know why you ask me that question; my own surgeon asked the same, and I see from it that there is no hope. What is your opinion?"

The surgeon replied: "Sir, I grieve to tell you that I cannot entertain a hope of your recovery."

Lawrence remained perfectly composed, but made no reply. He lived in great agony until midnight Friday when he died.

It is impossible to say now that Lawrence's dying words were those with which his name is indissolubly connected; the external evidence is that they were, although Cooper is of the opinion that they have been changed somewhat by poetic license. Admiral Wallis has stated that soon after the fight he had heard that when Lawrence was taken below he had said "Don't give up the ship," and, furthermore, an officer of the "Chesapeake," writing from Halifax, remarked that after his wound and in his delirium, whenever he could speak he would utter those words.

Let us return now to the two ships as they make the best of their way in the light winds across the three hundred intervening miles toward Halifax. During the passage they fell in with the English men-of-war "Sceptre" and "Loire," which were at first thought to be the "President" and "Congress." After exchanging numbers, Wallis signalled:

"We have many wounded; do not detain us, as I am anxious to get them into Hospital."

He then obtained permission to proceed on his voyage, and arrived off Sambro Light on June 4th, but was delayed by a dense fog until the afternoon of June 6th, when he entered Halifax.

When the vessels entered Halifax harbor, the "Chesapeake" was eight miles ahead of the "Shannon," and the people ashore thought at first that it was the "President." Lawrence's body lay on the quarter-deck of the "Chesapeake" wrapped in the colors he had so gallantly defended. As soon as it was known that the "Shan-

THE ARRIVAL OF CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON AT HALIFAX

non" had captured an American frigate, and was coming in with her prize, a wild excitement seized the town and people precipitately left the churches where they had just assembled for evening service and crowded to the wharf.

Sir Provo Wallis in his memorandum of the fight says that "the ships entered the harbor amidst the cheers of the populace, and the playing of bands, while the ships in port manned yards." Another account states: "There was no cheering for the 'Shannon,' except in one instance, because the half-masted flag on the 'Chesapeake' commanded a respectful silence. The joy aroused by the capture, was later tempered with regret for Lawrence's fate, for he was well known in Halifax and had won the respect of his foes by his humane treatment of the 'Peacock' prisoners."

Judge Haliburton, better known by his *nom de plume* of Sam Slick, who went on board the "Chesapeake" a few hours after the ships anchored, thus describes her appearance at that time:

"Externally she had just returned from a short cruise, but internally the scene was one never to be forgotten by a landsman. The deck had not been cleaned (for reasons that were obvious enough) and the coils and folds of rope were steeped in gore, as if in a slaughter house. She was a fir-built ship and her splinters had wounded nearly as many as the 'Shannon's' shot. Pieces of skin with pendant hair were adhering to the sides of the ship, and in one place I noticed portions of fingers protruding, as if thrust through the outer wall of the frigate."

In a letter dated at Halifax, June 17th, a writer says:

"At 2 P. M., I went on board the 'Chesapeake,' about four miles down the harbor, and after conversing with Lieutenant Falkner (who had charge of her) a few minutes on deck, I

went below to see the state of the ship; and here a more melancholy spectacle presented itself. From the cabin-windows to the hatch-way, the unfortunate persons wounded were accommodated. In the foreground of the afflicting spectacle of so many suffering fellow-beings lay the remains of the gallant Lawrence, and of two other persons who had expired that morning."

The dead and wounded were taken on shore, and on the 13th of June, Ludlow died of his wounds. His death was a surprise, as for several days after his removal to the hospital his progress toward recovery was rapid until he had a relapse and died just two weeks after the action.

Admiral Wallis, who visited Ludlow every day at the hospital, states that one day, Ludlow in speaking to him of the engagement, said:

"Well, I must say that it was a gloriously fair stand-up fight. I fully expected a different result; the day, however, was contrary to all expectations, and was nobly won by yourselves, and now behold how different is our lot. Nevertheless, I hope to live, and should like to try it again."

It is possible that if the American wounded had been landed immediately after the battle the lives of Lawrence and of many others might have been saved, and Captain Broke was bitterly criticised for not doing this until it was known that he had been desperately wounded and his first lieutenant killed, and it was therefore recognized that as a junior officer had succeeded to the command, the responsibility of such an act was too great for him to assume alone, acting as he was, without the advice or counsel of his seniors.

It was reported shortly afterward that on the voyage to Halifax, the American prisoners planned to re-

capture the "Chesapeake," but years afterward Admiral Wallis stated that if this were true, Lieutenant Falkner, who had command of the prize, had never repeated it. The story probably originated in the fact that on the second day out, the shrill notes of "Yankee Doodle" were suddenly heard on board the "Shannon," and for an instant it was thought by many that the ship was about to be recaptured.

It proved, however, to be simply the "Shannon's" piper playing in accordance with Captain Broke's wishes, who said to Dr. Jack and Midshipman Fenn: "I thought nothing would cheer me as much as that old tune."

There has always been much dispute regarding the complements of the two ships. According to a report of the Secretary of the Navy,* the complement of the "Chesapeake" was 298 men and 51 boys, making a total of 349. It has been variously stated from 340 to 431. But according to the "Chesapeake's" muster roll she actually had on board at the time of the battle a total of 382.†

The "Shannon's" crew consisted in all of 330 men.‡ It was afterward charged by the Americans that the "Shannon" had a number of men on board from the "Tenedos," and the English, on the other hand, claimed that the "Chesapeake's" crew was reinforced by volunteers from the "Constitution." However, it is not a matter of much importance. The "Chesapeake" sustained a loss of forty-eight killed, and ninety-seven wounded, of whom fourteen afterward died. The "Shannon's" loss was twenty-three men killed and fifty-

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* American State Papers.

† See Appendix. Muster Roll of the "Chesapeake."

‡ Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

nine wounded of whom twenty died; the total loss of the "Chesapeake" was, therefore, one hundred and forty-five or about thirty-seven per cent. of her crew, while that of the "Shannon" was eighty-two, or twenty-four per cent., or about two-thirds of the "Chesapeake's" loss. The total loss of both ships was only forty-five less than the combined losses of the French and English fleets at Cape St. Vincent where forty-two ships were engaged.

The armament of the two ships has already been described. Captain Wallis stated that no double-headed shot were fired from the "Shannon," that the main deck guns were loaded alternately with two round shot and with one round shot, and grape and the kegs of musket balls were not fired.

Referring to the Carpenter's report to Captain Wallis, it will be noticed that their grape-shot punctured the ship below the barricades of the quarterdeck and forecastle, whereas, there were no less than eighty penetrations of grape-shot into the "Chesapeake" through the bulwarks of the quarter-deck and forecastle. Nor can the penetrations of the grape-shot into the more solid parts of the "Chesapeake," only three or five inches, be easily accounted for. It may, therefore, be surmised that the upper deck guns of the "Shannon," chiefly carronades, were overloaded by being grape-shotted, which with a charge of only 2 lbs. 10 oz. may have caused the trifling penetration. It would perhaps have been better to double-shot the lower and main deck guns instead of using grape with the round shot.

The reports of casualties of the two ships show that very many of the grape-shot which struck the "Shannon" are not enumerated, while those that struck the "Chesapeake" seemed to have been more carefully

counted. It would be, therefore, unfair in comparing the relative damage inflicted to include the hits made by the grape-shots.

Eliminating these and comparing the total number of hits made by each ship with the heavier shots and miscellaneous projectiles, it is found that the "Shannon" was struck thirty-eight times, and the "Chesapeake" thirty-five times. The gunnery then was practically equal on both ships, and as the "Shannon" was considered a model of excellence in target practice, it cannot be admitted that the "Chesapeake's" crew was unskilled in the service of their guns. It must further be remembered that for a considerable portion of the six minutes, the gun firing was in a neutral zone as far as the "Chesapeake's" broadside battery was concerned, which would seem to give the balance of gun merit to the "Chesapeake." It is evident, therefore, that her capture cannot be ascribed to superiority of gunnery on the part of the British.

It was true in the War of 1812, as it is true now, that in an engagement of two ships of practically the same fighting efficiency, that ship which gets in the first hits will win the battle. The "Shannon's" first fire decided the action of the first of June; the battle was practically lost to the Americans, when Lawrence and Ludlow were mortally wounded. The importance of preserving the life of the Captain is so great, that in all modern war vessels, his station on the bridge is heavily armored.

According to official reports signed by Captain Broke and Lieutenant Wallis, as given by Sir Howard Douglass, the "Shannon" received four chain plate shot, sixteen 32-pounders, eleven 18-pounders, one hundred and nine grape-shot, three chain-shot, three bolts, one can-

ister and four bar-shots, making her total number of hits one hundred and fifty-one. The "Chesapeake" was struck two hundred and eighty-two times, by two hundred and forty-seven grape-shot, fourteen 32-pounders, nineteen 18-pounders, one 9-pounder, and one pump-bolt.

Iron bolts, chain and bar-shot were found sticking in the "Shannon's" side without penetrating, and a pump bolt was found sticking in the "Chesapeake's" side. Five 18-pounder shots struck the "Chesapeake" without penetrating, and some of this calibre struck the masts as high as twenty and twenty-five feet above the deck. All of the 32-pounder shot penetrated, one struck the bowsprit, but none went higher. It appears from this that the 32-pounder carronades were much truer than the long 18-pounder, probably due to smaller windage.*

"Five shots passed through the 'Shannon,'" says James, "one below the main deck. Of several round-shot that struck her, the greater part lodged in the sides, ranged in a line just above the copper. A bar-shot entered a little below the water line, leaving a foot or eighteen inches of one end sticking out. Until her shot holes were stopped, the 'Shannon' made a good deal of water upon the port tack, but upon the other not more than usual. That the 'Shannon' was much more injured than the 'Chesapeake' is definitely proved by the sworn testimony of the officers before the Court of Inquiry. According to Budd, Thayer, Curtis, and others, the 'Shannon' received many bad shots between wind and water; that she leaked a great deal, and that the pumps were at work all night with but little intermission."

One of the "Chesapeake's" men stated that "the 'Shannon' at the close of the engagement was in a sinking con-

* See Appendix VI and VII.

dition, having three and a half feet of water in her hold. I counted seven plugs in her starboard side." And Purser Chew testified that the "Shannon" had shot plugs in her water line, and that her Sailing Master stated that she had three shot holes below.

Her fore and main masts were slightly injured by shot; and her bowsprit (previously sprung) and mizzenmast were badly wounded. No other spar was damaged. Her shrouds on the starboard side were almost cut to pieces, and had there been any sea on, her masts would have gone by the board, but the "Shannon" at a moderate distance, appeared to have suffered very little in the action.

One account of the action states that she could not have continued the fight five minutes longer. The "Shannon's" loss, 23 killed, included the First Lieutenant Watt, Purser Aldham, Boatswain Stephens, and the Captain's Clerk, Mr. Dunn.

The "Chesapeake" sustained severe injury to her hull, but made no water, and all her masts were severely wounded, while her lower rigging and stays were much cut up. Two of her main deck guns, and one carronade were entirely disabled; a 32-pounder carronade was dismounted, and several gun carriages were wrecked.

During the action there was a barrel of lime on the forecastle of the "Chesapeake" which gave rise to the story that it was placed there for the purpose of throwing into the faces of the Englishmen to blind them. It was struck by a shot and its contents scattered on friend and foe alike. The English version of the lime is absurd. Lime is always carried in ship's stores as a disinfectant, and the fact that it was left on the deck after the ship was cleared for action was probably due to the neglect of some subordinate, or petty officer.

The capture of the "Chesapeake" was a logical result. No ship could have been more skillfully handled up to the time that Lawrence was taken below, but the fortunes of war were against her. The loss of Lawrence and all of the officers on the spar deck by the first broadside and the disablement of the wheel and head sails were the deciding features of the battle. For a ship's crew without leaders loses at once all coherence, and, without seamanship, becomes as helpless as a raft. And the converse of this proposition is equally true. The "Bon Homme Richard" continued to fight, and won, when she was a mere fragment of a ship, because the leader still survived to direct.

The defeat was not a question of superior gunnery, for both ships were so close that it was impossible for the shot not to hit, and the question of penetration at such a close range was one of quality of powder. This undoubtedly was in favor of the "Chesapeake," just from port, and presumably, with a supply of fresh powder. That the defeat was fair and square cannot be denied, and it is said that Ludlow rebuked one of the "Chesapeake's" officers for denying it in a discussion with a British officer a few days after the fight.

The truth of the matter is that from start to finish, the proverbial bad luck of the "Chesapeake" was with her. When by accident she fouled the "Shannon," she could not possibly have put herself in a worse position for receiving fire without being able to return it. That position, however, from which she could not extricate herself by reason of injuries to headgear, only accentuated and hastened her defeat, which, after the contact, was brought about by the impossibility of assembling sufficient men on the quarter-deck to drive back the first boarders headed by Broke.

After the ships were bilge to bilge, this was the "Chesapeake's" only chance of winning the fight.

It seems clear from the above considerations that the defeat was *primarily* caused by the terrible mortality among the officers at the first fire, and the simultaneous disablement of the manœuvring gear.

Lawrence is reported to have remarked to a brother officer several days before the action, that he would rather fight the "Shannon" and the "Tenedos" together after he had been at sea twenty days than to fall in with the "Shannon" alone the first day out; for he was not ignorant of her fine condition or of Broke's splendid reputation, but this would apply equally to any ship with a new commanding officer, for any one with even a slight knowledge of sea affairs will appreciate the natural disadvantages that would arise for an officer in handling a ship in action, especially under sail, if he was unfamiliar with his crew.

This consideration then would seem to be the only one that Lawrence had to take into account when he sailed out of Boston harbor on the first of June; for we have seen that Lawrence's letter to the Department disposes of the story that the ship was unprepared for sea, and in his last letter, he seems to contradict the idea that his crew were mutinous, as he described them as "seeming to be in fine spirits." Purser Thomas T. Chew stated before the Court of Inquiry that when the men came down to receive their prize money before the action, none of them used any disrespectful or mutinous language, and that even Joseph Russell, the boatswain's mate, who seems to have been the worst man in the ship's company, appeared to be satisfied.*

* The question of prize money was at that time comparatively a new one, and it may not be out of place here to briefly refer

It has also been shown that his crew were not green hands, but that, on the contrary, there was not a landsman on board, and as for the foreign element, there were not half a dozen north countrymen or Portuguese.

It is true that Lawrence had on board—as was proved after the "Chesapeake's" capture—thirty-six deserters from the British Navy and of these twenty-six went back into the English service at Halifax; five of these "miserable traitors were sent to England, four of whom were flogged around the fleet and the fifth was hanged." Among the wounded of the "Chesapeake's" men were some who surprised the English surgeon by asking him if he did not remember them as shipmates, having received their discharge, when war was commenced, by claiming American citizenship.

That there were dissatisfied and unruly individuals in the crew, (and for the matter of that, there have been and are growlers on all ships, past and present) is no doubt, true, but there were also on board the "Chesapeake" men who had served in the "Constitution" and the "Hornet" and who had won three glorious victories

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to some of the laws governing it. The first law on the subject was that of April 23, 1800, which allowed prize money and head money, although the latter was only twenty dollars a head until the act of 1864, which increased it to one hundred dollars, or two hundred dollars if the force destroyed was larger than the force doing the destruction. In the War of 1812 one-half of the money went to the United States, the commanding officer of the captor got three-twentieths, two-twentieths went to the lieutenants and sailing master, two-twentieths to the marine officer, surgeon, purser, warrant officers and chaplain, three-twentieths to the midshipmen, warrant officers' mates, a like amount to the gunners and chief petty officers, and seven-twentieths to the rest of the crew. Possibly the division did not appear to be the fairest practicable to the sailors and the marines; yet it was based on the ratio of responsibility among the crew of the captor.

over the enemy, and there were besides these, older men who had served in the Barbary wars when Lawrence was a youngster. These were the salt and leaven of the crew, and the few discontented spirits counted for nothing in the hour of battle. The eagerness with which the guns were manned, and the rapidity with which they were served, and the three unbidden cheers that rang out from the "Chesapeake" when she closed with the "Shannon," do not bespeak a drunken or sullen ship's company.

CHAPTER XIV.

AFTER THE BATTLE. (CONTINUED.)

MUCH that has been written about the battle between the "Chesapeake" and the "Shannon" is so manifestly and absurdly untrue that it can easily be sifted out and thrown away. For instance, a writer in Naval Annals only a few years after the event, when it would have been an easy matter to verify all his statements, draws a pathetic picture of Lawrence bidding farewell to his "*two* sons,—one of them, a beautiful youth of eleven —who accompanied their father to the dock the morning of the fight." This has been repeated again and again in subsequent accounts of the action and finally reappears with all its inaccuracies in one of the latest histories of the navy.

The story that Hull and Decatur went on board the "Chesapeake" and attempted to dissuade Lawrence from going to sea, is not true, because neither officer was in Boston at the time. It is stated by Mr. Lewis Deare of New Jersey in his biography of Lawrence that soon after Captain Lawrence sailed, Captain Hull arrived in Boston, and having heard of the proposed engagement, took a small boat in company with Commodore Bainbridge and went in pursuit of the "Chesapeake" with the object of prevailing upon Lawrence to defer the engagement; but it is beyond the power of the strongest imagination to conceive these men,

SIR PROVO WALLIS
ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET

of all others, counselling inaction when the English flag was in sight. Then there is the story of the housetops in Boston crowded with people who witnessed the fight, which actually took place thirty miles at sea. A recent historian repeats an unauthenticated story of a garrulous negro who was said to have taunted the boat's crew from the "Chesapeake" the morning she sailed, by telling them that they would go to Halifax before they returned to Boston. In one account of the death of Lawrence it is stated that the bullet that killed him struck the "Hornet" medal presented by Congress, which he wore on his breast, the writer evidently being ignorant of the fact that the medal was not even authorized until long after Lawrence's death.

The well known story of the mutinous boatswain's mate (it is interesting to note that this same man was with Lawrence on the "Hornet") must here be noticed. He it was who is said to have removed the gratings from the fore hatch after the English had boarded, and called to the "Chesapeake's" men to follow him below, singing out as he did so: "So much for not paying men their prize money."

"The scoundrel Portuguese," as he is termed by indignant historians, has a place in the history of the action which he does not deserve, for whether he had any prize money due him or not, or whether or not he seduced any of the crew into insubordination, it is certain that his disaffection was not a prime factor in the battle; it is not even referred to in the testimony of the court-martial, which was afterward ordered on several of the officers and men of the "Chesapeake." A writer of that day gives a description of him that, whether apocryphal or not, is worth reading as a matter of interest: "It seems that his name was Joseph Anto-

nio, and that his appearance was 'singularly fantastic.' He wore a checked shirt with laced jacket, rings in his ears, and a bandanna handkerchief around his head. The extreme diminutiveness of his person was rendered the more remarkable by the extravagance of his gesticulation, and he never grew warm in discourse without throwing his body into shrugs and contortions."*

There is reason to believe that no liberty was granted the crew after the "Chesapeake" dropped down to the Roads, and as Lawrence was a strict disciplinarian, it does not seem reasonable to suppose that his crew was generally drunk on Tuesday morning, even admitting that the last men to return from liberty on the preceding Sunday were all drunk.

It is true, however, that before the action, when the "Chesapeake" was still a mile from the "Shannon," Budd reported that "some of his division were intoxicated," and that during the action two seamen were found drunk. With these exceptions there is no mention in the testimony before either the Court of Inquiry or the General Court-Martial, of *any one* on board the "Chesapeake" being under the influence of liquor. On the contrary, the officers all testified that up to the time the "Chesapeake" was boarded, the men behaved well.

Never, perhaps, were more exaggerated accounts written of any other sea-fight, and the misstatements just noted are referred to here, not that they have any bearing whatever on the result of the engagement, but to show how actual facts have been obscured, distorted and misrepresented, and the consequent general impression formed that Lawrence was guilty of foolish, if not criminal conduct, in engaging the "Shannon" on the first

* Naval Annals.

of June. The truth of the matter is that in their eagerness to explain away the loss of the "Chesapeake," which was a terrible shock to their pride, the Americans made all manner of excuses to show that the defeat was due entirely to taking into action an unprepared ship, and a green and mutinous crew. Unfortunately these excuses, many of which have only a gloss of fact, have by constant repetition finally come to be accepted by history as true.

As for the details of the action itself, fable and fact have been so blended, that it is a difficult task to separate truth from fiction, but it is fair to assume in the beginning, that barring the single fact, admittedly a most serious and important one, that Lawrence and some of his officers were new to their ship, while on the other hand, the "Shannon" had been preparing for seven years for the fight, the ships and their captains were as nearly equally matched as it was possible, and that the result was not brought about by the reasons almost invariably assigned by the Americans, which have been referred to above, or to the greater superiority of the "Shannon's" gunnery, as universally claimed by the British.

The fact that the "Chesapeake" lost the victory by a very narrow margin with the best organized and best drilled ship in the English Navy ought to be a sufficient denial to the assertion that she herself was entirely unprepared to fight.

Lawrence has been censured for displaying bad judgment in fighting the "Shannon," but this criticism is founded upon incorrect premises. One historian says:

"Hard as it is to breathe a word against such a man as Lawrence, a very Bayard of the seas, who was admired as much for his dauntless bravery, as he was loved for his

gentleness and uprightness, it must be confessed that he acted rashly. . . . Hull would not have committed either error, and would for the matter of that have been an over-match for either commander." But the same writer bears witness elsewhere that "Most of Lord Nelson's successes were certainly won against heavy odds, by his great genius, and the daring skill of the captains who served under him."

In the first place, Lawrence, on the 31st of May, and on the 1st of June, found himself exactly in the same position in which he had placed the captain of the "Bonne Citoyenne" six months before. Lawrence had attributed Captain Greene's failure to leave port, to cowardice pure and simple, and the newspapers of the day had sneered mercilessly at the British Captain while lauding and congratulating Lawrence. These facts were fresh in Lawrence's mind, and he knew that public opinion was too fickle to spare him if he should remain inactive over his anchors while an enemy cruised unmolested within gunshot.

These reasons alone would have been sufficient to urge a man of much less spirit than Lawrence to put to sea, but there were other arguments which were of greater weight. Lawrence had put himself on record, in his two vigorous protests to the Navy Department, and his memorial to the Senate, and there can be no doubt that he had felt, ever since he wrote his impassioned appeal for justice, that it was a necessity for him to make good his claim for personal consideration, by conduct absolutely unimpeachable. Also he had earnestly requested a revocation of his orders to the "Chesapeake," and considering that fact, together with the unfortunate reputation of the ship, failure to respond promptly to the "Shannon's" display of colors, might, and

probably would have been attributed to unworthy motives. And last, but not least, it was the golden opportunity for the ship to redeem herself, and in the hands of a master of his profession avenge the insult she had suffered six years before.

Beyond and above all this he knew that as a naval officer, as one whose trade it was to fight, that war cannot be made without taking risks, and that the most brilliant victory often lies close to overwhelming defeat. In his sailor soul burnt the self-same spirit that inspired the brave Duncan at the Texel to say to his captain, when with two ships he tried to draw out the whole Dutch Squadron of fifteen Sail of the Line, "I have taken the depth of the water, and when my ship goes down my flag will still fly." This is the spirit that indicates greatness, just as the lack of it in a military crisis is evidence of professional impotence.

All of this, however, is from a sentimental point of view,—but a view that can never be neglected if men's actions and motives are to be scrutinized impartially and their character justly estimated.

A practical view of the question furnishes strong arguments in Lawrence's favor. In the first place, Lawrence had peremptory orders to proceed on his cruise to the Banks, and it would have been inadmissible for him to disregard those orders because an enemy's frigate was in the Bay. As for the alleged error of judgment, it has been shown that it was not, after all, taking a desperate chance. The condition of the "Shannon" after the action proves this.

The "Shannon" was much more cut up in the hull and suffered more material injury than the "Chesapeake." According to Benjamin Trefethan, a seaman on board the "Chesapeake," the "Shannon" was in a sink-

ing condition at the close of the engagement, having three and one-half feet of water in her hold, and he counted seven shot plugs in her starboard side.* Allowing the most liberal estimate of time for the actual firing from the "Chesapeake" to be four minutes, it will be noted that each one of the "Chesapeake's" port guns were discharged at least three times, and the two stern guns which finally were the only guns that could bear, were fired four times. The guns having been loaded when the action began, this allows a little more than one minute for loading and firing the guns, except the stern guns which fired at the rate of one shot per minute.

A crew which did such excellent gun practice could scarcely be said to be green, mutinous and undrilled. That they were smart seamen is shown in an interesting letter published in the Boston "Palladium," June 6, 1856, and signed "Cambridge."

The letter is worth reproducing. The writer says:

Very early in the morning of the day of that sad event, (the action between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon") I left the town in a sailboat with two lads, my nephews, on a fishing excursion, and took with me the morning paper, the "Palladium," and was reading it as we approached Fort Independence, where the frigate "Chesapeake" lay at anchor. As we ran close in to the ship, the officer of the deck asked me if there was any news in the morning paper, and I desired our boatman to run alongside of the frigate, and threw the paper into one of the port holes. We then proceeded on our way to the fishing ground, and after getting outside of the light-house, concluded to let our boat drift, as there was but little wind, and we began to fish and continuing to do so with great success for two or three hours, by which time we had drifted eight or ten miles out-

* Affidavit of Benj. Trefethan.

side of the light-house, and on sweeping the horizon with a glass, I saw a sail, but could not make out what it was for an hour afterwards.

I then saw it was a ship, and as it was an unusual sight, I examined her very closely, and in the course of another hour, I made her out to be a frigate, and saw the British colors, and as I did not wish to go to Halifax, I ordered our boatman to make the best of his way to town, and soon afterwards we heard a gun from the "Chesapeake," where the discovery had just been made.

When I passed our frigate I think there was nothing up but her standing rigging, and before I reached the Fort on my return the ship passed me standing out, having been completely rigged, and sails bent in a few hours.

While it is evident that "Cambridge" is inaccurate in his estimation of time intervals, it is clear that the "Chesapeake's" men were, to say the least, fairly well drilled in handling spars and sails.

Lawrence was fully impressed with the seriousness of an engagement with the "Shannon," and although he had no exalted opinion of the British Navy in general, he certainly did not underestimate the capabilities of Captain Broke. Many years afterward, Dr. Charles Lowell of Boston, an old friend of Lawrence, referring to the circumstances attending the engagement, wrote to the evening "Transcript":

It was the arrogance and presumption of our community, of which, I suppose, I had a large share, which led to the engagement between the "Chesapeake" and the "Shannon," under the most disadvantageous circumstances; circumstances which rendered defeat on our part extremely probable, if not morally certain. We had been almost invariably successful in our naval engagements with the British, and imagined that we had only to "go out to sea and conquer."

At this distance of time I cannot remember all the particulars of the battle, but the event comes to me in a vivid and most

painful recollection. I had an interview of an hour or two, with Captain Lawrence, with whom I was acquainted, the day before he went out to the ill-fated rencontre. His deportment was admirable. He had a full sense of the difficulties which rendered success problematical, but was not daunted by them. He thought there was no alternative for him. He modestly expressed his determination to do his duty as faithfully as he could, leaving the event to Him who could control it. He fell early in the action, a martyr to a cruel and barbarous custom.

Nelson once wrote:

"If I had been censured every time I have run my ships, or fleets under my command into great danger, I should long ago have been *out* of the Service, and never *in* the House of Peers," and again, "It is not all of an officer's duty to bring his ship safe home again."

The fact is that on the 1st of June, Lawrence found himself at the parting of the ways; in a position which has come to many commanding officers in the past, and will surely come to many more to the end of time.

It was the old story of Scylla and Charybdis in a new dress. If he went out and lost, he would be censured for bad judgment. If he remained in port while the "Shannon" unmolested flaunted her flag in his face, there would be uglier reasons assigned for his passiveness. No one knew better than Lawrence that public opinion always applauds boldness and dash, but never forgives timidity. As a rule, an officer's reputation in a grave crisis depends largely, if not altogether, on the opinion of the people as expressed in the press regardless of the merits of the case. To be influenced by such considerations does not argue the highest ideal of duty, but surely it is natural for a man confronted by such conditions, to choose that course of conduct upon which can be cast no imputation of overcaution or weakness.

It is possible that Captain Greene of the "Bonne Citoyenne" showed great moral courage and was technically correct in refusing to accept Lawrence's challenge, because he was charged with the important duty of conveying a large amount of treasure, but it is more than probable that Captain Greene was what a writer of the day calls a "midway man," and "midway men," he remarks, "are not to be trusted alone. They have ideas about the value of life, and an upbringing that has not taught them to go ahead and take the chances."

It would be foolish, not to say criminal, for the captain of a ship to take unnecessary risks, where the ends to be attained do not justify the risk: on the other hand, it is unpardonable according to military ethics, for an officer not to take every chance when he has a reasonable hope of success, or when the results to be obtained are of such magnitude as warrants his risking everything. Lawrence never erred on the side of caution, yet no officer of his day had a higher reputation for sound judgment. In this case the odds against him were not overwhelming; it is certain they were not sufficient to justify inaction.

After all has been said, however, it cannot be denied that having decided upon a broadside engagement, Lawrence erred, first in not choosing a greater distance, and second in not bringing on the action himself as soon as his guns bore. It was a serious error to choose a yard-arm to yard-arm fight with the best drilled ship in the English Navy, when his own crew had not been thoroughly exercised together, and some of them were new to the ship. His mistake lay *not in fighting the "Shannon," but in his manner of attack.*

It is idle to speculate upon ensuing possibilities, had Broke's challenge been received by Lawrence before he

sailed, and it is unjust to his memory to argue that some one else could have done better, or to accuse him of the folly of Rehoboam in not listening to the counsels of his elders. It is sufficient to say that had he won the battle—and he only just missed a brilliant success—he would have been the great hero of the war.

Washington Irving, who was a competent judge of the public pulse, probably voiced the general favorable disposition toward Lawrence, when he wrote:

"That any blame could ever attach for a moment to the conduct of Captain Lawrence in encountering the 'Shannon,' though superior in equipment, we never insinuated or supposed. On the contrary, we admired that zeal for the honor of his flag, and that jealousy of his own reputation, that led him in the face of obvious disadvantages to a battle which men of his heroism would have believed without disgrace.

"The calculating, cautious spirit in a commander who evasively measures the weapons, estimates the force of his opponent, and shuns all opponents where the chances are not in his favor, may gain the reputation of prudence, but not of valor. There were sufficient chances on the side of Lawrence to exculpate him from all imputation of rashness and sufficient to entitle him to higher character for courage. He who would greatly deserve, must greatly dare, for brilliant victory is only achieved at the risk of disastrous defeat, and those laurels are ever brighter that are gathered in the very track of danger."

It is significant that there was no national display of anger, which is only too quick to manifest itself after a great disaster. On the contrary, tribute was paid to Lawrence's memory in Congress in glowing phrases in which there was no hint of reproach or censure, and a pension was promptly voted to his widow.*

His brother-officers—unerring judges always of pro-

* See Appendix.

fessional conduct—applauded his action and approved his course.

The Navy Department commemorated his death in a General Order and directed the flag at the Washington Navy Yard to be half-masted.*

After he fell a national ship was named in honor of him, and Perry selected this vessel to be his flagship at Lake Erie, and flew at her mainmast a battle-flag inscribed with his dying words. Since then the same words have been inscribed on the wheels, and across the poop of many men-of-war.

Surely he must have been a much loved man.

Professional opinion of Lawrence is well reflected in the following verse of a popular battle song of Lake Erie:

Up went the Union Jack, never up there before,
"Don't give up the ship!" was the motto it bore,
And as soon as that motto our gallant lads saw,
They thought of their Lawrence, and shouted "Huzzah!"†

* See Appendix.

† MS. in possession of Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NEWS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

It was several weeks before the details of the battle reached the United States. The pilot boats and other craft that had witnessed the fight returned to Boston and merely reported that the "Chesapeake" had sailed away under English colors after a terrific bombardment. Commodore Bainbridge sent a report* of the engagement to the Navy Department, basing it upon the statements† made to him by Mr. Knox, the pilot who had taken the "Chesapeake" out, and who returned to Boston late that night.

The closing sentence of his report voiced the universal sentiment that the flag had been lowered without dishonor. "We have lost one frigate," he writes, "but in losing her, I am confident we have lost no reputation." That English colors had been hoisted over the unfortunate ship meant to every one that Lawrence was dead. This was accepted as a fact, but the veil dropped there, and the whole nation waited with impatience and anxiety for the news of the first signal defeat of American arms on the sea.

At last, on the 23rd of June, the ship "Henry" arrived in Boston from Halifax, with several officers and men from the "Chesapeake," and among them was Pur-

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* See Appendix.

† *Ibid.*

ser Thomas J. Chew, who brought with him Lieutenant Budd's official report of the action. The conviction of defeat, however, had become so strong in those weary weeks of waiting, that the report was scarcely necessary to confirm it.

It was a crushing blow, and so unexpected that the people could not at first bring themselves to realize the truth. So confident were the Bostonians of another glorious victory that it is said that they had prepared a banquet for the victors on their return in the evening.

Every one knows the pathetic comment of old Commodore Smith, in Washington, after the fight in Hampton Roads, when he was told of the surrender of his son's ship—"Then Joe is dead!" And so, when pilot Knox brought back the news that the English flag had been hoisted on the "Chesapeake," it was accepted as a fact at once that Lawrence was killed. The wife of Surgeon Samuel D. Heap, of the navy, writing the next day from the Boston Navy Yard to a friend, says:

It is with inexpressible grief I inform you that our frigate "Chesapeake" was last evening captured, after a very short engagement, by the "Shannon." The following are the only particulars at this moment:

Yesterday morning a frigate was seen in the Bay, which was soon ascertained to be the "Shannon." The "Chesapeake," at this time was lying below the Castle. A little after twelve o'clock she got underway and stood out. At five o'clock they were both out of sight from town. About six the action commenced within musket-shot. In a few minutes they were yard-arm and yard-arm at which time there appeared to be a great explosion from the quarter-deck of the "Chesapeake." At sixteen minutes past six the ships separated, and the English flag was then hoisted on board her over the American flag. The "Chesapeake" was carried by boarding. She was commanded by a particular friend of the doctor's, Captain Lawrence, who, there is no doubt, is either killed or wounded.

We have no news from the vessels. The above particulars are brought up by gentlemen who were within two miles of the vessels at the time of the engagement.

On June 24th Purser Robert Ludlow who had served with Lawrence on board the "Argus" and was a veteran of the battles with the "Java" and "Macedonian," wrote to his brother Charles from the Navy Yard at Charlestown:

At length I have received the distressing intelligence of the death of our poor brother. He died, poor fellow, on the 13th instant. Mr. Chew has arrived, and says he was convinced several days before his death that he would go, as Augustus told him that the doctors did not know how bad he was, and did not expect him to live. It is gratifying to know he had every medical aid that was necessary, not only the doctors of the hospital, but those of Halifax, all of whom attended him and had several consultations even before he was trepanned—his head was cut nearly in two. Poor fellow, it is the fortune of war and what we must expect! Our good mother —what will she say and suffer? I cannot, my dear brother, dwell on this painful subject.*

Richard Rush in later life, writing of the action, says:

"I remember, what American does not! the first rumor of it. I remember the startling sensation. I remember at first the startling incredulity. I remember how the post offices were thronged for successive days by anxious thousands, how collections of citizens rode out for miles in the highway, accosting the mail to catch something by anticipation. At last, when the uncertainty was dispelled, I remember the public gloom; funeral orations, and badges of mourning bespoke it. 'Don't give up the ship!'—the dying words of Lawrence—were on every tongue."

A few weeks after the battle ugly stories began to appear in the daily papers of the mistreatment by the

* Ludlow Papers.

English of their prisoners. It is with no desire to open old wounds, or to dig up what might better be left buried, that these facts in the case are herewith presented, but, if history is written at all, the whole truth should be told.

There can be no doubt that the liveliest sympathy was manifested for Lawrence and Ludlow after the arrival of the "Chesapeake" at Halifax, but it is beyond all question that the captors of the "Chesapeake," saving the gallant Broke who was at the point of death during the passage from Boston, acted with cruelty and oppression and were guilty of acts for which there was absolutely no excuse, and which were all the more glaring when contrasted with the treatment of the "Peacock's" prisoners by Lawrence and his officers on board the "Hornet."

Immediately after the action, eleven of the American midshipmen were confined under a guard in a small place on the "Shannon,"* nine by six, with only an old sail to lie on, until a day or two before the arrival at Halifax. They were allowed in all only five rations, and on some days only one meal. Their clothes were taken with them to the "Shannon," but Lieutenant Wallis would not allow them to take their clothes below, although he assured them that they would be returned. The next morning, however, it was discovered that the English midshipmen had on their clothes and side-arms as well. While the American midshipmen were discussing this unauthorized transfer of their personal property, one of the English midshipmen overheard their remarks, and reported them to Lieutenant Wallis who

* Affidavit of Midshipman Wm. Berry, July 30, 1813, Washington, D. C.

promptly sent word to the Americans, that if he heard* anything more about their clothes, he would confine them in the forehold with the men. The clothes, it seems, were never returned, nor their side-arms, nor their nautical instruments, which were also stolen. When spoken to by the American officers on this subject, the English replied that such things were free plunder.

The rape of the clothes was bad enough, but, besides this indignity, several of the officers had money taken from them, which they had received while on board the "Chesapeake" as prize-money.

A day or so after the action, Midshipman William A. Weaver, of Georgetown, was standing near the taffrail of the "Chesapeake" discussing the engagement with Lieutenant Budd and Midshipman Nichols, when they observed that some of the "Shannon's" prize-crew were listening to their conversation. Immediately after Lieutenant Falkner ordered sentinels to be placed at the mizzen-mast and personally gave this order to them:

"If you see any of the "Chesapeake's" officers conversing together, cut them down without hesitation."

All three of the officers who were the cause of this order had been severely wounded during the action, and it must be noted that they were not cautioned to discontinue their conversation, and only by accident overheard the order as it was given.†

After the capture, the key of Captain Lawrence's storeroom was demanded of the Purser. It was given, but Mr. Chew observed at the same time that in the capture

* Affidavit of Midshipman William Berry, Washington, D. C., July 30, 1813.

† Affidavit of Midshipman Wm. A. Weaver, Washington, D. C., July 30, 1813.

of the "Guerrière," "Macedonian" and "Java," the most scrupulous regard was paid to the private property of the British officers, that Captain Lawrence had laid in stores for a long cruise, and that the value of them would be a great object to his widow and family, for whose use he was desirous, if possible, of preserving them. The request was denied.*

However, as a distinguished writer has pointed out in discussing this subject, war is not managed, as a rule, with urbanity and courtesy, and, moreover, writers are prejudiced.

Grief as for a personal loss reigned in the United States over the defeat of the "Chesapeake" and the death of Lawrence whose surname might well have been "The Beloved." In those days toasts were always expressive of popular feeling, and a few taken at random which are here subjoined, indicate better than anything else how this young Commander was regarded by his own people.

On the 4th of July, 1813, at a banquet given by the Marine Artillery of Baltimore:

"Captain Lawrence—

"'A foreign land has been thy grave,
E'en foreign tears have wept the brave.'

"May the inspiring words of the illustrious Lawrence, 'Don't give up the ship!' be the eternal motto of every American."

On the same day in Washington, by Secretary James Monroe:

"To the memory of Captain Lawrence whose last words were 'Sink the ship, sooner than surrender her.'"

* Testimony Chaplain Livermore before General Court-Martial. MSS. records. Navy Department.

Again at Brookhaven the toast was:

"The Memory of Lawrence—unfortunate but brave. His ship was live oak; his fame shall be adamant."

On July 6, 1813, at the anniversary meeting of the New York Society of the Cincinnati, the ninth toast:

"The memory of the gallant Captain Lawrence and of his officers, who so bravely fell in supporting the honor of the American Flag."

While the United States was mourning for her brave sailors, joy was unconfined in England. Broke's official report of the action was sent from Halifax by the brig "Nova Scotia," which arrived in Plymouth on the morning of the 7th of July, and the news of the victory was announced simultaneously with Wellington's great success at Vittoria, by which Spain was rescued from France. This report, like many similar ones before and since, caused no end of discussion, bitterness and recrimination.

Jervis's report of the battle of St. Vincent is a glaring example of this kind, and it is famous more for what it omitted than for what it contained. Not to come down to more recent times, Farragut's report of the passage of the forts below New Orleans, unintentionally laid a grievous and heavy burden upon the reputation of a brave and gallant officer.*

Broke's report, however, was unique in the fact that it was not his at all, but a forgery† pure and simple, being the composition of the Honorable Captain Thomas Bladen Capel, commanding the "La Hogue," and of Commissioner Wodehouse.

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* History of the Navy in the Civil War—Admiral D. D. Porter.

† History of the Navy—Maclay. Vol. I., Preface, p. xx.

Capel, who was the senior naval officer at Halifax, directed Lieutenant Wallis to submit to him a report of the action. Wallis deferred doing so, hoping that Broke would sufficiently recover to make his own report. Capel waited a week, and then, not hearing from Wallis, he informed the latter that he had already received a report which would be sent to England at once by Lieutenant Falkner. This was accordingly done, and Wallis did not even see the precious document. The report was full of inexcusable errors which Wallis—like Admiral Bailey in the case of Farragut's report—was a long time in pointing out. In the first place he obtained the following certificate from the Surgeon at Halifax, to show that Broke was physically incapable of writing even his own name, at the time the despatch was mailed at Halifax:

These are to certify that I, the undersigned, David Rowland, M.D., F. R. S., late Surgeon of H. B. M. Naval Hospital at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, was there when H. M. S. "Shannon" arrived with her prize, the American frigate "Chesapeake," on Sunday the 6th of June, 1813.

The former was commanded by the present Captain Wallis owing to the dreadful wound which Captain Broke had received in the action a few days previous. On 7th of June, I was requested by Mr. Alexander Jack, the Surgeon of the "Shannon," to visit Captain Broke, confined to his bed at the Commissioner's house in the dockyard, and found him in a very weak state, with an extensive sabre wound on the side of the head, the brain exposed to view for three inches or more; he was unable to converse save in monosyllables, and I am sure totally unable to dictate or write an account of the action for sometime afterwards, owing to his severe wound, loss of blood, and the shock his whole frame must have experienced by the blow on the head. I grant this certificate to Captain Wallis, being called to do so by the death of Mr. Jack, the Surgeon.

D. Rowland, M.D.

Wallis denied specifically that the marine officers boarded the "Chesapeake," that Midshipman Smith stormed the enemy's foretop, and what is of much importance, that both ships came out of the action looking as if they had simply been exchanging salutes, and he is quoted as expressing the opinion, that, had there been any sea on, the "Shannon" would undoubtedly have lost her masts.

But England was not hypercritical and the story of the details of the battle might be settled by the participants, the country was only interested in the glorious fact, that at last, its navy had won a fight; and it was time, for in six months, she had been defeated in five ship actions; whereas, for eighteen years before the war, she had lost only five single-ship actions out of one hundred and fifty.

On the evening following the receipt of the news in the House of Commons, when Admiral Cochrane, the Earl Dundonald,—(the great Dundonald, as he was called,)—was particularly severe in his remarks upon the mal-administration of naval affairs, Mr. John Wilson Croker remarked, "that the noble lord appeared to be particularly and most unseasonably unfortunate, both in his misstatements and his libels." He then proceeded to electrify the House with the news of the capture of the "Chesapeake" by the "Shannon," the official information of which he had received a few minutes before while on his way to the House.*

Then followed a season of jubilation throughout England. London went wild with joy. The popular enthusiasm had no parallel since Trafalgar. Everywhere flags were displayed; crowds paraded the streets sing-

* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

ing patriotic songs; bells chimed; and, what was almost unprecedented, the Tower guns were fired in honor of the event. It was a crowning triumph after a series of humiliating defeats. England fairly thrilled with joy, and for a moment forgot the bitter memory of the "Guerrière," the "Java," the "Peacock," and the "Macedonian." Wherever the name of Broke and "Shannon" were mentioned off went hats, and up went flags, and at every banquet table in the United Kingdom, the toast of the day was, "An English Broke and an Irish river."

Among the unique phases which this exuberant rejoicing assumed, was the production of a song which still holds its place at Harrow, and perhaps at other boys' schools in England, and appears in the latest editions of the song books. In that of the Harrow school it is set to music so very like the air known to us as "Jordan is a hard road to travel," as to be substantially identical. It is a spirited air, and English schoolboys sing it with relish to the following verses:*

THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND THE "SHANNON."

(*Air: "The Landlady of France."*)

The "Chesapeake" bold out of Boston I am told,
Came to take a British Frigate neat and handy, O!
And the people of the port came out to see the sport,
With their music playing "Yankee Doodle Dandy," O!

CHORUS: Yankee Doodle, Yankee Doodle Dandy, O!
The people of the port came out to see the sport,
With their music playing "Yankee Doodle Dandy," O!

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* From a pamphlet in possession of Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N.

The British frigate's name, that for the purpose came,
To tame the Yankees' courage neat and handy, O!
Was the "Shannon," Captain Broke, with his crew all hearts of oak,
And in fighting you must know, he was the dandy, O!

The fight had scarce begun, when the Yankees with much fun,
Said "We'll tow her into Boston neat and handy, O!
"And I'll kilkilate we'll dine, with our lasses drinking wine,
"And we'll dance the jig of 'Yankee Doodle Dandy,' O!"

But they soon, everyone, just flinched from the gun,
Which at first they thought to see so neat and handy, O!
Brave Broke he waved his sword, crying, "Now, my lads, aboard,
And we'll stop their playing 'Yankee Doodle Dandy,' O!"

He scarce had said the word, when they all jump'd on board,
And they hauled down the Ensign neat and handy, O!
Notwithstanding all their brag, the glorious British flag,
At the Yankee's peak it looked the dandy, O!

Then here's to all true blue, both officers and crew,
Who tamed the Yankee's courage neat and handy, O!
And may it ever prove in battle, as in love,
The true British sailor is the dandy, O!

Now the interesting fact about all this seems to be that eight or nine months before the capture of the "Chesapeake," a song with the same peculiar jig movement had been sung in American theatres, and on the streets, to an air known at that day as "The Landlady of France," a song inspired by the victory of Hull in the "Constitution," August 19, 1812, over the ill-fated frigate "Guerrière," and when these verses are compared with those above, they are at once perceived to be the original from which the Harrow school song is parodied, so that in this instance, at least, if in no other, the United States may claim to have furnished that *sæva noverca,* the

mother country, with the motif of a British War Song.*

In "Tom Brown's School Days," Mr. Arnold tells of the popularity of this song at Rugby, where it was introduced in honor of one of the boys whose name was Brooke. He says, "and when they came to the words:

> Brave Broke, he waved his sword, crying, "Now, my lads, aboard,
> And we'll stop their playing 'Yankee Doodle Dandy,' O!"

you expect the roof to come down. The sixth and fifth know that 'brave Broke' of the 'Shannon' was no sort of relation to our old Brooke. The fourth form are uncertain in their belief, but for the most part, hold that old Brooke *was* a midshipman then on board his uncle's ship. And the lower school never doubt for a moment that it was our old Brooke who led the boarders, in what capacity they care not a straw."†

In the meantime Broke was slowly recovering from his wounds in Halifax, and on the 4th of October sailed for England in the "Shannon" with a convoy of eight sail. As it was expected by the authorities at Halifax that an attempt would be made by Commodore Rodgers in the "President" to capture the "Shannon," Broke exercised his people constantly at the guns, and small arms, and prepared himself for another engagement. The passage, however, was uneventful, and on the 2nd of November, the "Shannon" anchored at Spithead.

Broke was greeted with "thunders of fort and of fleet" and was received everywhere as a hero, and honors were largely bestowed. He was raised to the Peerage, was made a Knight Commander of the Bath, and he and his descendants were allowed to bear as a memorial of highly

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* From a pamphlet in possession of Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N.

† *Outlook*, Feb. 1, 1902. Article by Rev. E. E. Hale.

distinguished conduct and his gallantry, the following crest of honorable augmentation:

"Issuant from a naval crown, a dexter arm embowed, encircled by a wreath of laurel, the hand grasping a trident erect. Motto: *"'Sævumque tridentem servamus.'"*

The Common Council of London presented to Broke a vote of thanks, the freedom of the city and a sword.

On December 14th, the London "Times" stated that Sir Philip Broke was to be honored with a gold medal "to be worn with his full uniform for the capture of the 'Chesapeake.'" It was the first time that an officer had been so honored for a victory over a frigate of France, Spain, or any other nation. The presentation of the sword took place in the office of the Chamberlain at the Guildhall, a year later, and at that time Captain Broke still wore a bandage around his head. The sword was a handsome piece of work, one side of the blade having a finely executed enamel of the action, and the other the coat of arms of London.

Broke received a vote of thanks from Ipswich. The underwriters of Halifax presented him an address, and a piece of plate valued at 100 guineas. The gentry of Suffolk, his native county, subscribed £730 for a silver service, and the Free and Easy Club of Ipswich voted him a silver cup valued at 100 guineas.*

But what was of greater value as it always is to a military man, and far more precious than crosses and ribands, or the gifts of gold and silver presented by his countrymen, were the congratulatory letters of his brother-officers,† for it must always be by the opinion of

* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

† This idea was very gracefully expressed by one of Farragut's contemporaries in a congratulatory letter written to the Admiral

PLATE PRESENTED TO SIR PHILIP BROKE

those who are of the same profession, that a man's character is most fairly estimated, and his qualities as a man and officer definitely determined.

Mr. Croker, the Secretary of the Admiralty, wrote:

The capture of the "Chesapeake" afforded "a proof of professional skill and gallantry in battle which has seldom been equalled, and certainly never *surpassed.*"

Admiral Warren, Commander-in-Chief of the North Atlantic Squadron, wrote:

"I beg leave to offer you my sincere and best congratulations upon the occasion, and to assure you that none of your friends feels more sensibly the service you have done your country, or the well-merited fame, which you will so justly receive, than myself."

And in another letter a few weeks later:

"I once more present my grateful acknowledgments for your glorious efforts and success in the sacred cause of our country. The relation of such an event restores the history of ancient times, and will do more good to the service than it is possible to conceive, and after the difficulties and disappointments you have surmounted with so much perseverance, must afford you the highest satisfaction, as well as all our friends."

Rear Admiral Henry Hotham, K.C.B., the Captain of the Fleet wrote:

"In the capture of the 'Chesapeake,' (on which my congratulations are offered) you have recovered the high pretensions of our service in a very great degree, and have shown that, although the enemy have been successful with superior force, we are still able to maintain our reputation on equal terms. Your action, my dear Broke, proves to the service, and to yourself

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a few days after Mobile Bay. He said, "I feel now that I would were I in your situation, like to be greeted on my return by my naval friends, and *be told by them* that they rejoiced in my glory and my success." (Life of Farragut—by his Son.)

the advantages which have resulted from the great pains you have taken to make your ship and your people perfect in the use of the guns, and which has been conspicuous to everybody, and was so strongly so in my mind, that I have placed my faith in the result of any action you might have since the commencement of the war, and I am delighted that I have placed a proper confidence in her."

From Admiral Sawyer:

"You must be assured no one sets your regard at a higher estimation than I do, or more truly rejoiced at your long-sought-for, and well-earned victory."

From Captain Bolton, R.N.:

"I must beg leave to add my congratulations to the very many which I am sure you must have received on the glorious manner in which you have upheld the fame of the British Navy, by a display of all those good qualities that most adorn an officer, by which you performed an achievement, which I think, is unexampled in the annals of the navy, at least of late years."

From Admiral A. S. Hammond, G.C.B.:

"Accept, therefore, my best thanks for the great and eminent service you have rendered the country, which will ever, I trust, establish you in the naval history as one of the greatest ornaments to the profession."

Admiral Gordon, G.C.B., wrote:

"It is with most heartfelt satisfaction I congratulate you on your brilliant victory over the 'Chesapeake.' To have taken her at all would have been most meritorious, and gratifying to all of us, but the decided style of the thing was your own entirely, and only to be achieved by the discipline of the 'Shannon's' crew."

The Admiralty was lavish in the rewards bestowed upon the other officers of the "Shannon." Wallis was

promoted to the rank of Commander and received a sword and a vote of thanks. Falkner was made a Commander. The Sailing Master, Mr. Etouch, who had been commended in the official report, and Midshipmen Smith and Cosnohan were promoted to be lieutenants.*

Not the victory of the Nile nor of Trafalgar inspired more excitement, joy and exultant pride in England than did the result of this simple ship action with a Yankee frigate—a frigate which scarcely twelve months before would have been flouted before all England as a ship scarcely worth the mettle of a British sloop of war. No greater tribute was ever paid to the fair fame of the Navy of the United States than the acclaim with which the English people greeted the capture of the "Chesapeake."†

While convalescing at Halifax, Broke wrote to his wife that Captain Brenton had drawn him two pretty sketches of the action, which, though she did not love such pictures of fire and terror, represented "one of the happiest moments of his life as affording him the privilege of retiring with honor, and conscious of having earned his liberty." In another letter about the same time, he told her the capture was of more value to him than all the wealth of the world, as it enabled him to retire happily, and without reproach.

Broke lived twenty-eight years to enjoy his well-merited renown, but his wounds incapacitated him for active service, and he never went to sea again. Indeed the wounds that Broke received in his head during the

* The Naval History of Great Britain—James, Vol. VI., p. 62, London, 1886.

† Monograph by Rear-Admiral Geo. E. Belknap, U. S. N., in the unpublished MSS. of the late John Ropes, now in possession of Massachusetts Military Historical Society.

battle produced such singular, and almost unprecedented physical results, that his case became one of the most famous ones in the records of surgery.* It produced what is known as Analgesia, "a rare condition of the body which caused the patient to complain of a local, or general coldness, while, as a rule, the parts involved have no abnormal temperature, or often the reverse of that complained of."

This did not develop until seven years after the action with the "Chesapeake," when Broke had a fall from his horse. Describing the accident, he said:†

I was stunned by the fall, but it was only for a moment, for I was certainly dragged a few yards, and I chiefly remember as my first perception after the fall, that I was lying on my back, and looking upward at my stirrups. I certainly got up unconscious of any injury, and walked about a quarter of a mile to my mother's house, whence I had just departed. I remember nothing of this walk, and my recollection recommences with my sitting down quietly in the room, and telling her that I had had a fall. I began in a few minutes to have some sense of stupor as after a blow on my head, and having gone upstairs and washed the dust off my head, I then discovered that my face was scratched in several places, and was bleeding. The stupor became more oppressive, and I sent for a surgeon who bled me in the left arm, taking away ten or twelve ounces of blood. This might be an hour and one-half after the accident. The stupor increasing considerably, I was persuaded to go upstairs again to go to bed; this I clearly remember, and while pulling my clothes off, a violent wrenching and vomiting came on, and then my memory again failed for several hours, but on the following morning I was perfectly clear again, and had some good sleep. I felt the usual soreness in the head from such conditions, but had no hurt in any part of the body, nor any uneasiness in my stomach, and my

* Dr. S. Weir Mitchell in Trans. Am. Phys.

† Guthrie's Annals of Military Surgery.

appetite was unimpaired. I felt weak, but unconscious of any material injury beyond the bruises I had received.

Next day I perceived an extreme sense of cold in the left leg, and foot, and so had to put on a worsted glove and stocking. The following day my whole left side was strangely affected by a sense of cold, although the flesh externally was warm to the touch, and generally in a state of perspiration.

The left half of his body became incapable of resisting cold, or to evolve heat in still temperature,—68 degrees Fahrenheit,—the left side required four coatings of stout flannel, which were augmented as the thermometer descended every two and one-half degrees to prevent a painful sense of cold, and when it was zero, the quantity of cloth on the affected side became extremely troublesome. When he was exposed to a breeze, or even when moving against the air, one or even two oilskin covers were necessary to prevent a sensation of piercing cold driving through his whole frame.

In 1830 Broke was promoted a Rear Admiral, and at the time of his death, January 2, 1841, he was "Rear Admiral of the Red," the highest color.

The "Chesapeake" was recommissioned in July, and sailed for England, where the Government bought her for about $106,000, but she was soon afterward put out of commission and in 1820 she was sold at Portsmouth for $2,500. She was broken up and her timbers were used for building purposes. Most of the wood was bought by Mr. John Prior, a miller of Wickham, near Portsmouth, for $1,000, who built a new mill with these timbers.*

The author of the memoirs of Admiral Broke thus describes the mill, which he visited in 1864. "The beams, joists and floors are all constructed from the timbers

* Memoir of Sir Philip Broke.

of the American frigate; the former in many places prick-marked with grape-shot. The mill, armed with modern appliances, was merrily going, and on every floor the blithe and mealy men were urging their life-sustaining toil. But on one of these planks on one of the floors, Lawrence fell in writhing anguish of his mortal wound; on another, if not the same, Watt's head was carried away by grape-shot, and on another Broke lay ensanguined and his assailants dead."

The figurehead of the "Chesapeake" was the representation of a young girl, and until ten years ago it stood in an old lumber yard in Halifax.*†

When the "Shannon," which did little service after the fight, was broken up, her figurehead was presented to Admiral Broke's son by the Admiralty, and is now at Broke Hall, a colossal female bust, painted white, ornamented with a necklace of gilded roundlets, and surmounted by a star taken from the "Chesapeake's" stern. Some of the "Shannon's" timbers were fashioned into a pair of gates leading into the grounds of the mansion.

This was the end of Britain's most famous ship after the "Victory," but her name is still borne in pride and honor on His Majesty's official Navy List.‡

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* New York *Evening Post*, November, 1893.

† When I first came here I was told that the figurehead of the "Chesapeake" was in the dock yard; but on further inquiry I was informed that the figurehead referred to was really that of the old H. M. S. "Charybdis."—Letter from Consul General John G. Foster to the author, May, 1902.

‡ A few years ago a young American girl, a relative of Lawrence, was in England, and an appointment was made for her to be presented to Lady Broke Middleton, the widow of Admiral Broke Middleton, the son of Sir Philip. When Miss —— was presented, the kindly old lady cordially greeted her and said: "My dear, I believe our families usually meet upon the quarter-deck."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COURT-MARTIAL.

When a vessel of the navy is wrecked, captured or destroyed, it is usual for the Navy Department to appoint a Court to inquire into the facts. Accordingly, a court of inquiry, composed of Commodore Bainbridge, Captain Isaac Hull and Captain Smith was appointed by the Navy Department to inquire into the capture of the "Chesapeake."

The court completely exonerated Lawrence, (a fact to be noted by latter day critics) and expressed the opinion that if the "Chesapeake" had not accidentally fallen aboard the "Shannon," and the "Shannon's" anchor go fouled in the after quarter port of the "Chesapeake," the "Shannon" very soon must have surrendered or sunk. The court attributed her loss to the almost unexampled early fall of Captain Lawrence and all the principal officers, the bugler's desertion of his quarters and inability to sound his horn, and the failure of the boarders on both decks to rally on the spar-deck after the enemy had boarded.

The court animadverted on the conduct of the enemy after boarding and carrying the "Chesapeake," as a most unwarrantable abuse of power after success.

The report of the Court of Inquiry resulted in the court-martial of several officers and men of the "Chesapeake." The court was convened on board the United

States frigate "United States," at New London, in April, 1814, the "United States" at that time being blockaded by the English squadron in Long Island Sound.

It was composed of officers who, with one or two exceptions, if not already distinguished, were destined to rise to the height of their profession.

The President of the Court was Stephen Decatur, then in command of the "United States." The members were Jacob Jones, the hero of the "Frolic" and of the same date as Lawrence, James Biddle, who afterward commanded the "Hornet" with so much distinction in the Pacific, Lieutenant George W. Rodgers, William Carter, Jr., the gallant John T. Shubrick, whose sad fate has already been mentioned in these pages, Benjamin W. Booth, Alexander Claxton, David Connor, who, it will be remembered, had been Lawrence's sailing master in the "Hornet," John Gallagher, James B. Sloat, the future conqueror of California, and Matthew Calbraith Perry, who, forty years afterward, opened the ports of Japan. The Judge Advocate of the Court was Thomas O. Selfridge, Esq., whose family name has been borne continuously on the Navy List to the present time.

The Court was ordered to try Lieutenant Cox, Midshipmen Forest and Fleshman, Brown, the bugler, and a seaman named Russell, captain of one of the guns.

Cox was tried for "cowardice, disobedience of orders, desertion from his quarters and neglect of duty, an unofficer-like conduct." His trial lasted two weeks. He was acquitted of the charges of cowardice, disobedience of orders, and desertion from his quarters, but was found guilty of neglect of duty, "In not doing his utmost to aid and capture the 'Shannon' by animating and encouraging in his own example the inferior officers and men to fight courageously and in denying the use

of coercive means to prevent the desertion of the men from their quarters and in not compelling those who had deserted from their quarters to return to their duty."

He was also found guilty of the charge of unofficer-like conduct, "in that, while the enemy was boarding or attempting to board the frigate 'Chesapeake,' the prisoner (Cox) accompanied his disabled commander James Lawrence, Esq., from the quarterdeck, where his presence and command were essential to animate and direct the 'Chesapeake's' crew in repelling the boarders of the enemy."

Cox was sentenced to be cashiered from the service (with a perpetual incapacity to serve in the Navy of the United States). This sentence was approved by President Madison.

William Cox was the son of the business partner of Lawrence's brother-in-law. He had served with Lawrence in the "Argus" and "Hornet" and was a great favorite with him. He was only about twenty years of age and was devoted in his allegiance to Lawrence with whom he had been associated ever since he entered the service, and whom he looked upon as his hero.

It cannot be questioned that Cox was very severely treated by the Court. The serious charges that were made against him all fell through upon investigation, except those which referred to his assisting below, while in the presence of the enemy, his fallen chief, and when his youth is considered and the love and veneration he bore for Lawrence, who had been to him more like an elder brother than a commanding officer, it would surely seem that in his case, at least, justice might have been tempered with mercy. In his defence before the Court, Cox said:

"I knew Captain Lawrence intimately and loved him as a man. In the service of my country I had never sailed under any other commander. He recommended me for promotion and it was through his means and the opinion he entertained of my merit, that I obtained my rank and commission as a lieutenant. My regard for him was reciprocated, and I was proud of it, and I assisted him in this instance from feelings of gratitude which long and habitually exercised towards him, had become powerful and rapid as instinct. I assisted him, too, as I claim, at his own request and I afterwards bewailed his death with tears. Was this cowardice or disobedience of orders? Was the man upon whom Nelson leaned when he was wounded and who kissed him when he died, a coward or deserter from his duty? Or was it ever said that a sailor would have done as well? To follow the bent of amiable feelings cannot be inconsistent with the character of an officer or a breach of the Articles of War.

"My whole conduct, I trust, has not disgraced the commission which I have the honor to bear in the Naval Service of my country. I am no coward, no deserter, not chargeable with neglect of duty or disobedience of orders. I deny every charge and assert my claims to the unsullied reputation of an officer, a man of honor and a gentleman. My sword since my arrest has been in the keeping of honorable hands and is still fit for service in the same cause where it has once failed of victory; may better success attend it for the future."

Cox tried in vain to have his case reopened and petitioned many times to be allowed a new trial. It is said that even the members of the court, without exception, wrote kindly letters to him, but public opinion against him was too strong. After his dismissal from the navy he enlisted in the army, and fought in the ranks until the war was over. According to one authority, he sought a refuge in the West, "and there he lived and died an old man honored and respected by his neighbors, but those that loved him marveled at one thing—he never smiled—and even his grandchildren (for he married late in life) knew not that he had once been a gay young

lieutenant with a shining epaulet on his left shoulder. They never knew that he had started one fine June day to find glory and fame, and that death had come near to him but passed him by."*

Among the officers of the "Chesapeake" who were transferred as prisoners to the "Shannon" was a Midshipman named Fleschman, who, during the action, was stationed in the main top. Fleschman had been captured a year before in the brig "Gossamer," and was paroled in Halifax as Acting Lieutenant on board that vessel, but when the "Chesapeake" was fitting out in Boston, he was very anxious to get orders to her, but, of course, could not take up arms again until he was exchanged. He was informed by the Marshal at Boston that his exchange had been accepted, but that the regular certificate had not been received; without waiting for it he entered himself on board the "Chesapeake." When he went on board the "Shannon" he gave his name as William Brown, which was the name of a Midshipman who had left the "Chesapeake" before Mr. Fleshman joined her. For this he was tried on the charge of "imposition and unofficer-like conduct." To the charge he pleaded guilty and in his defence said that he hoped his conduct in the engagement would support the expression that it was not through personal fear or a disregard to the honorary requirements of truth, that he had decided to hazard his character as an officer by a falsehood, but that in adopting this painful course, he was constrained more by the abhorrence of an ignominious punishment than from any other consideration.

The Court found his conduct to be "A departure from those principles which have characterized every officer

* Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors—James Barnes.

and should never be compromised for personal convenience," but in consideration of his youth, and inexperience and his good conduct in the action, he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the Secretary of the Navy.

In the case of Midshipman Forest, the charges were: "Cowardice and neglect of duty, and drunkenness." To the first charge he pleaded not guilty, but pleaded guilty to the charge of drunkenness.

Forest was stationed in Budd's division. The first shot from the enemy that came into that division killed and wounded several men on the starboard side of the forward gun. Mr. Budd immediately attended to the removal of the wounded in order to work the gun, and while he was lifting one of them Forest said to him: "Mr. Budd, the powder boy is gone and I must pass the powder to you."

Budd replied: "Very well, sir, pass it along."

Budd afterward noted that the boy that Forest alluded to, a young Irishman named Patrick Brooks, was still in the division and was supplying the powder. It was proved on the Court that Forest, after speaking to Budd, went below on the berth-deck where he was seen by Joseph Russell, the Captain of gun No. 2, sitting on a mess chest, holding a wounded man on his lap. Midshipman Fisher testified on the Court that he did not see Forest during the action, but immediately after the action he saw him at the hatchway of the forward magazine, and that Forest was then endeavoring to prevent one of the men from blowing up the ship.

His defence against the first charge was weak and uninteresting, but there is conscious gleam of humor in his excuse for drunkenness. Speaking of himself in the third person, he says:

"He had at this time (while he was a prisoner in Halifax) no particular duties to discharge as an officer and if he committed any excesses by which others were injured, if in this land of strangers he sometimes ventured to take his harp from the willows, he was amenable to the laws of that country in which he was."

Forest received the same sentence as Cox and was at once dismissed from the navy. Possibly had he imitated the Captives of Babylon and let his harp remain on the willows, he would have escaped with a sentence less severe.

The trial of William Brown, the bugler, is particularly interesting for several reasons.

When Lawrence assumed command of the "Chesapeake," he brought with him from New York a bugle, which, he told Chaplain Livermore, he intended to use to call boarders instead of the drum which was used for all other purposes. He thought the bugle could be heard better and that there would be less chance of mistakes during action. It may be said that Lawrence was the first officer to introduce the bugle into the navy, and it has now entirely superseded the drum on board ship.

At the first Sunday morning inspection after Lawrence joined the ship and while all hands were aft to muster, he produced the bugle and asked if there was any one in the crew who could blow it. A mulatto named William Brown, an ordinary seaman, stepped forward and said that he could, and, thereupon sounded a few notes. Captain Lawrence then appointed him bugler and directed him to practice frequently and also to permit any of the men to play on the bugle who wished to do so.

Brown was a dull-witted negro, but seems to have been more knave than fool. He had been Loblolly* boy

* Doctor Johnson once defined the Loblolly Hole as a place where the Loblolly Boy kept his Loblollies. A Loblolly Boy

on the "Chesapeake" in her previous cruise under Captain Evans, and Doctor Dix's opinion of him was that he was "dull in the execution of orders, but always very ingenious in avoiding whatever he could in the line of duty."

On the day of the action with the "Shannon" when the boarders were called away, Midshipman Curtis, as has already been stated, discovered Brown sitting under the long-boat, where he was screened from the musketry and the grape, absolutely terrorized. Later when Midshipman Fisher tried to rally the men on the forecastle at the second call for the boarders, he found Brown there with his bugle in his hand, and although he ordered him six or seven times to blow the call, he made no attempt to obey the order and was crouched up and trembling in such a manner, that Mr. Fisher thought he was wounded. Needless to say, Brown was found guilty and he was sentenced to receive 300 lashes, "and to be mulcted of all wages now due and which may accrue to him during the remainder of his service." The President mitigated the sentence to 100 lashes. His counsel made an eloquent plea for him, a portion of which is worth repeating.

"God," he said, "has made the prisoner too insignificant a being on whom to visit the loss of the 'Chesapeake.' If his accidental exertions might have saved the ship, he would not have had the credit of it nor would he have been entitled to it, and if you decide otherwise and charge the whole misfortune upon one who could hardly comprehend his simple duty, other nations will laugh at the little subterfuge to which we resort, and

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is one of the surgeon's attendants: the term has long been obsolete: in ratings of the present day, he is called hospital apprentice.

instead of enlarging our naval fame, we shall belittle out national character."

Joseph Russell, a Boatswain's mate and Captain of No. 2 gun, was seen by Midshipman McKenney taking the gratings off the fore hatch when the boarders were called. Seeing that the midshipman had noticed him, he turned from the hatch and called to the men to go on deck. McKenney asked him why *he* didn't go. He started aft and got as far as the main hatchway, when he turned and ran back, took off the gratings and jumped below followed by others. As he ran forward he called to Patrick Brooks, the powder man of gun No. 1, to lie down, that the "Shannon" was raking. As an act of retributive justice, it may be mentioned that as he jumped below, one of the men threw a crowbar at him.

CHAPTER XVII.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—LAWRENCE'S CHARACTER.

THE GRAVE OF LAWRENCE.

(Trinity Churchyard.)

Morn and noon of day and even, human ebb and flow;
Overhead, the stars of midnight—scarce the faintest glow—
Shrunken into misty marsh-fires by the city's glare;
Here he sleeps, our sailor hero—pause, and hail him fair!
Here he sleeps where jostling Wall street merges in Broadway,
And the roar is as a legion leaping to the fray.

Out from Trinity's dim portal floats the chanting choir;
Matchless midst the girdling granite lifts the graceful spire.
Many slumberers around him, men of Church and State,
Here he sleeps, our sailor hero, great among the great!
Simple lines to mark his slumber; how the letters speak!
"Lawrence" (hark, ye money-getters!) "of the 'Chesapeake'!"

Stone may call in clearer accents than the loudest lip.
Just a name! What does it cry you? "Don't give up the ship!"
Aye, there's something more than millions—a far nobler aim!
Here he sleeps, our sailor hero, nothing but a name!
Yet (and who can pierce the future?) this may one day be
As a burning inspiration both on land and sea!

CLINTON SCOLLARD.

LAWRENCE was buried at Halifax on the 8th of June, just one week after the battle, with every honor that

could be bestowed by a generous and admiring foe. He had won a place in the affectionate regard of the English people by his treatment of the "Peacock" prisoners, and on the day of the funeral many houses along the route were draped in mourning, and "not a few declared that they considered the blood which had been shed on the 'Chesapeake's' decks, as dear as that of their own countrymen."

Army and Navy joined in the march to the grave. The remains, enclosed in a mahogany casket covered by a United States flag, were landed in the afternoon from the "Chesapeake" in a barge pulling minute strokes and were received on the dock by a guard of honor, consisting of three hundred of the rank and file of the 64th regiment under command of Lieutenant Colonel Sir J. Wardlow, and all the officers of the garrison, each wearing crepe on his left arm.

All the naval officers that could be spared from duty were present—"Captains and Commanders, with a portion of Lieutenants and Midshipmen." Sir Thomas Saumuriez, who was the Governor of Halifax, attended in person, and the six senior naval officers at the station carried the pall. Among the latter was Captain Blythe, who three months later, when in command of the "Boxer," was himself killed in battle with the "Enterprise" off Portland. In the procession, six companies of infantry preceded the hearse, and the surviving officers of the "Chesapeake" followed it. The funeral services were conducted at Saint Paul's Church, and the body was committed to the grave shortly afterward.

On the day of the funeral a lady in Halifax wrote to a relation of Lawrence's in New Jersey:

"I can assure you with truth on this afflicting occasion, that every possible mark of respect was evinced which was due to his rank, character and gallant conduct, of which our officers speak in the highest terms. Assure my friend that even in Nova Scotia, the memory of Lawrence shall be cherished as it is honored. Many tears have been shed for him by strangers as well as ourselves."

A few weeks later the naval officers in New York started a movement to have Lawrence's body brought home, but before anything definite was accomplished by them, Captain George Crowninshield of Salem, Massachusetts, a patriotic citizen and a distinguished privateersman, succeeded in obtaining the necessary papers which allowed him to sail for Halifax from Salem under a flag of truce in the brig "Henry" to receive the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow, and convey them to the United States. The "Henry's" crew consisted entirely of masters of vessels, who volunteered for the duty. The "Henry"* sailed from Salem on the 7th of August, and returned with the bodies on the 19th.

On the 23rd of August, the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow were landed at Salem from the United States brig "Rattlesnake" and were interred with military honors. The pallbearers at this second interment were Captains Hull, Stewart, Bainbridge, Blakely, Creighton and Parker, and Lieutenants Ballard and Wilkinson. Chief Justice Story delivered the eulogy.

In September, at the request of Lawrence's family, the Navy Department had his remains brought to New

* The crew of the "Henry" was composed of Captains Holton J. Breed, Benjamin Upton, Jeduthan Upton, John Sinclair, Samuel Briggs, Joseph J. Lee, Stephen Beachmore, Thomas Bowditch and Mr. Thorndike Proctor.

York for final burial. It was the intention to convey them by water through Long Island Sound, and Commodore Decatur was directed by the Department to obtain the necessary permit from the British squadron, which was then blockading those waters. Decatur sent a flag of truce to Commodore Hardy—he who had received the dying words of Nelson at Trafalgar—requesting permission for the vessel bearing the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow to pass through the blockade.

The "Ramillies," Hardy's flagship, had sailed for Halifax the day before the message was received, and Decatur's letter was delivered to Captain Robert Dudley Oliver, the senior officer present. Captain Oliver granted the request in the following graceful letter, but the delay in transmitting it caused the program to be changed and the remains were, therefore, transported by land, and did not reach New York until the 13th of September, when they were taken on board the United States Sloop of War "Alert" at the Navy Yard.

H. M. S. "VALIANT," Off Gardiner's Island, Aug. 30, 1813.
To Commodore Decatur,
United States Ship "United States,"
Near New London.

SIR:—

The weather was so bad yesterday when your boat arrived with the flag, that I was unwilling to detain her the time necessary to reply to your application and that of Commodore Bainbridge, for a passport for the brig "Henry," to convey the remains of the gallant Captain Lawrence, from Salem to New York, and for the brig to be allowed to return to the former port.

I annex this permission (as suggested by Commodore Bainbridge) to the passport by which the brig "Henry" proceeded to Halifax, and I shall at all times have particular pleasure in paying attention to your applications that can in any way mitigate the inconvenience attending a state of war, which I trust as far

as depends on us, will always be carried on in a way not unworthy of the subjects of two free and independent nations.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ROBERT DUDLEY OLIVER.

On the 16th the bodies were landed from the "Alert" in fourteen oared barges manned by sailors in white uniform and escorted by a long column of man-of-war boats, and taken to the Battery under the fire of minute guns from the Navy Yard, where they were received by a brigade of artillery under the command of General Morton. The whole city of New York was in mourning, the bells were tolled, minute guns fired and the vessels in the harbor half-masted their flags. Not since the funeral of Alexander Hamilton had there been such demonstration of public grief.

The procession started from the Battery at ten o'clock and in the presence of thirty thousand spectators marched through Greenwich to Chambers Street and Broadway, thence to Trinity Church. At the head of the procession were the military under arms, then came the Society of the Cincinnati followed by the clergy of the city who immediately preceded the bodies, and the pallbearers immediately after. The families of the deceased officers came next, and then in order the Common Council of the city, officers of the navy, officers of the general government, officers of the state government, officers of the army, officers of the militia not on duty in uniform; after this in long columns came the citizens. At Trinity Church the service was conducted by Bishop Hobart assisted by the Reverend Dr. Howe.

The remains of Lawrence are interred in Trinity churchyard on Broadway. The monument is erected

close to the sidewalk, and the passerby may read upon it its pathetic epitaph.*

* The first monument was erected in 1816 in Trinity Church Yard. It consisted of a broken Ionic column of white marble, the cap of which was broken off and rests upon the base. The inscription on it was transferred to the east side of the new monument, and is as follows:

The heroic commander of the frigate "Chesapeake."
Whose remains are here deposited,
With his expiring breath,
Expressed his devotion to his country;
Neither the fury of battle,
The anguish of a mortal wound,
Nor the horror of approaching death,
Could subdue his gallant spirit.
His dying words were,
"Don't give up the ship."

The present monument was erected by public subscription in 1847 to replace the first one which had been ruined by the weather. It is said that Lawrence is not interred under this stone, but in another part of the church yard.

The monument is a handsome brown stone mausoleum, and stands at the southwest corner of the church, near Broadway. It bears on the north side the following inscription:

In memory of Captain James Lawrence, of the United States Navy, who fell on the first day of June, 1813, in the thirty-second year of his age, in the action between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon." He was distinguished on various occasions, but especially when, commanding the sloop of war "Hornet," he captured and sank his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war "Peacock" after a desperate action of fourteen minutes. His bravery in action was equalled only by his remarkable modesty in triumph, and his magnanimity to the vanquished. In private life he was a gentleman of the most generous and endearing qualities; the whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen who should most honor his remains.

Ludlow is buried beside him and there in 1865, more than forty years after the battle, his wife joined him. And there he rests, "that sailor-knight, who died for his high chivalry; there lies that heart of honour's heart" where

> "The sound of those he wrought for
> And the feet of those he fought for
> Echo round his bones for evermore."

Napier's eulogium on Ridge may be applied in a wider sense to James Lawrence. To paraphrase that splendid tribute, "Of all those who have given their lives in defence of the flag, none have died with more glory than he, and yet many have died, and there has been much glory."

Lawrence's name to-day stands for all that is best and highest in the traditions of the navy. No other individual contributed more than he to the permanent formation of that sterling character and reputation of

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On the west side of the monument is a low relief sculpture representing the stern of a double deck ship of war, underneath which is inscribed the name of Lawrence's wife, and the date of her birth and death.

The inscription to Ludlow is on the south side, and is partly taken from Judge Story's eulogy:

In memory of Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow, of the United States Navy. Born in Newburg, 1792. Died at Halifax, 1813. Scarcely was he twenty-one years of age when, like the blooming Euryalus, he accompanied his beloved commander to battle. Never could it have been more truly said: *"His amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant."* The favorite of Lawrence, and second in command, he emulated the patriotic valor of his friend on the bloody decks of the "Chesapeake," and when required, like him, yielding with courageous resignation his spirit to Him who gave it.

LAWRENCE'S TOMB IN TRINITY CHURCHYARD, NEW YORK

the American sea-officer, which justified the prophetic and often quoted remark of Nelson, "In those trans-Atlantic seamen there is the nucleus of much trouble for the British Navy." He was not the greatest commander that the War of 1812 produced; his opportunities were too limited, and his course too quickly run to achieve the full measure of naval distinction, but as a frigate captain, he had no superior in the service.

What he would have accomplished in a more exalted rank can only be conjectured, for it is axiomatic that an efficient Captain by no means insures an equally efficient Admiral. It is common experience that naval men especially break rapidly with increased years and responsibilities, and comparatively few escape mental deterioration when their physical energies are waning.*

Men who seize every opportunity—(it is not true that a man can always make his opportunity)—who use to the best advantage every ability that nature has given them and who have the stamina to follow their convictions and, to use Emerson's words, speak in words as hard as cannon balls, are the men who as a rule make their mark, and are the least likely to be overwhelmed and swept under in their "crowded hour." Lawrence was such a man, and his whole career gave promise of a brilliant future.

The strain of the knight-errant in his character, and his tragic death make his personality more interesting than that of any of his brilliant contemporaries, except perhaps that of Stephen Decatur, the "Mainmast of the Navy." Lawrence was the "Sir Galahad" of the Navy, the White Knight whose gentleness and purity were the complements of his courage and his fear-

* Types of Naval Officers—Mahan.

lessness. To use George Meredith's fine phrase,—he carried a light for followers.

He was brave, chivalrous and impetuous to a degree, possessing a keen sense of personal honor that rendered him almost supersensitive of reproach, and it was these inborn characteristics that urged him to sea on the fatal first of June.

A contemporary says that he was generally a favorite with his men, which taken alone is a doubtful compliment, but adds that he was a severe disciplinarian.

"His bold and intrepid public spirit," says another, "tempered with the utmost affability, gave his character the milder glory of the House of Valerii; he was a noble Roman born two thousand years after his time. His fine figure indicated extraordinary strength and agility; in exercise that requires activity and address he had no competitor in a numerous crew of picked seamen. Had he not fallen so early in the action, he might have exclaimed without the imputation of arrogance,

> "'At my own ship
> And in my own ship's gunwale, it may chance
> The noblest of my foes shall make a pause.'"*

Cooper says that Lawrence was a man of noble stature and fine personal appearance. He had the air and the manner of a gentleman-like sailor, and was much beloved by his friends. He was quick and impetuous in his feelings, and sometimes manifested it on the quarter-deck, but in all critical situations his coolness was remarkable. He was a perfect man-of-war's man and an excellent quarter-deck seaman, handling his

* Naval Annals.

vessel not only skillfully, but with all the style of the profession. In his feelings and sentiments he was chivalrous, generous and just. Indeed his interest in the midshipmen was proverbial, and on one occasion when the midshipmen of the squadron gave a dinner to Commodore Rodgers, for some reason it was proposed not to ask any lieutenant, "What! not Mr. Lawrence?" cried one. Mr. Lawrence was accepted by acclamation, and was in fact the only lieutenant present.

His humanity and kindness of heart were as conspicuous as his courage, and he was never known to say rude things to his inferiors, for while his manner had all a seaman's frankness, and sometimes a superior's impatience, it was tempered by all the qualities of a gentleman. His eyes filled with tears while inflicting necessary punishment, nor was it common to find another who had so strong a reluctance to use his authority in this mode, as himself.*

Rear Admiral Preble says that an old gentleman living in Portland, Maine, told him, that the day before the battle between the "Chesapeake" and the "Shannon," Lawrence, accompanied by a Lieutenant, came into the shop where the narrator was an apprentice, the lieutenant having a miniature of Captain Lawrence, which he wished mounted, leaving to Captain Lawrence the selection of the frame. The miniature was left to be called for to-morrow, but the battle was fought the next day and they never returned. The gentleman, describing Lawrence's personal appearance as he remembered it, to Admiral Preble, said:

"He was tall, a little under six feet, and broad across the shoulders, with a handsome, manly face, and dark hair with side whiskers combed up and shaved under

* Naval History—Cooper.

the ears as was then the style. His proportions were good and movements graceful, and he carried himself as one born to command, and, in fact, he was a man made up and finished such as we like to look upon."

Farragut, who as a lad had known Lawrence, said of him fifty years afterward, "He was as splendid-looking a sailor as I ever saw."

Stephen Decatur was once asked if Lawrence's intrinsic merit as an officer justified the enthusiastic veneration in which the nation held his memory. He replied, "Yes, sir, it does, and the fellow died as he lived: but it is part of a sailor's life to die well. He had no talk, but he inspired all about him with ardor; he always saw the best thing to be done, and he knew the best way to execute it, and he had no more dodge in him than the mainmast."

His personal courage may be likened to that of Sterne's hero, whom the Corporal described as having no fear, and who would walk up to the cannon's mouth even if he saw the match at the touch-hole. It was courage of the highest order, and not bravado that urged Lawrence to sea on the first of June. Had he not done so he would have stultified every trait of his character just as Shakespeare's Hector would have been wholly false to himself had he heeded Andromache's pleading before Troy, "Unarm, unarm and do not fight today."

His naval career embraced less than fifteen years, and he was killed in his prime, but he had already won the highest naval commission, and was regarded as one of the most conspicuous officers in the navy.

The papers and magazines long after his death teemed with tributes to his memory, celebrating his deeds in prose and rhyme.

CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE
From a miniature by Edwin

"The memory of Lawrence," says Mr. Post, "has cast a glamour over the worst thrashing we ever got at sea. We are a strange people about that sort of thing. Our most vaunted land battle was also a defeat, though probably nine-tenths of us consider Bunker Hill a victory. Is this because our conceit is so sublime as to blunt our memory; or is it that we have inherited from our common ancestors the quality ascribed to our English cousins in the threadbare epigram, "They do not know when they are whipped'? I, for one, prefer to think that it is for neither of these reasons, but for a much better one, to wit, that down under all our materialism, beneath all our vainglory and worship of success, lies a truer chord that is stirred by brave and honorable deeds, no matter what their result."

"Non omnis moriar," exclaims Thackeray, "if in dying I still live in the tender hearts of one or two, and Lawrence still lives in the affection of all his countrymen, although four score years have passed since he died, 'leaving his death for an example of a noble courage and a memorial of virtue, not only unto young men, but unto all his nation.'"

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE MEMORIAL OF MASTER COMMANDANT JAMES LAWRENCE TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

James Lawrence, of New York, master and commandant of the sloop-of-war "Hornet," respectfully presents this memorial to the honorable Senate of the United States upon the nomination of Lieutenant Charles Morris, late first officer of the frigate "Constitution," to the grade of post-captain in the Navy of the United States.

Your memorialist respectfully represents, that he entered the service as midshipman, Sept. 4, 1798:

That he continued in that capacity—attached to sundry vessels upwards of two years, when he was promoted to an acting lieutenant on board the frigate "Adams," commanded by Captain Robinson; in which capacity he continued until the reduction of the navy, in consequence of which his appointment was not confirmed, and, of course, he remained in the grade of midshipman.

Then when the war with Tripoli was declared, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and attached to the "Enterprise" as first officer; from which he was removed to the frigate "John Adams," and acted in the same capacity.

That this service continued three years and one-half, when he returned to the United States with Commodore Preble, and was again despatched to the Mediterranean, as commander of gun-boat No. 6, in which service he was engaged sixteen months.

That while attached to the "Enterprise," he sailed as first lieutenant with about seventy volunteers, in the ketch "Intrepid," of four guns, under the present Commodore Decatur, the commander of the "Enterprise," to destroy the frigate "Philadelphia," of forty-four guns, lying in the harbor of Tripoli.

That Lieutenant Morris volunteered as a midshipman in this expedition, which was so completely successful, that the "Philadelphia" was destroyed without the loss of a single man on the part of the Americans.

That for this exploit, Commodore Decatur was made post-captain, and the rest of the officers and crew of the "Intrepid" voted by Congress two months' extra pay, which was declined by your memorialist.

That since the Mediterranean service was completed, your memorialist has been constantly engaged in the service, having been attached to the "Constitution" as first lieutenant, and to the "Vixen," "Wasp," "Argus" and "Hornet" commands; during which commands he has been twice to Europe with despatches.

That he was in the "Hornet" when war was declared, and was attached to Commodore Rodgers's squadron, and cruised with him until the Commodore's return to Boston, and is now attached to Commodore Bainbridge's squadron.

Under these circumstances your memorialist respectfully presents this memorial to the honorable senate against the ratification of the nomination of Lieutenant Charles Morris to the grade of post-captain, but at the

same time would bear testimony to the uniformly distinguished merit of that accomplished gentleman, and distinguished officer.

Your memorialist would respectfully suggest that no achievement within his knowledge, however gallant, has been rewarded with a promotion of more than one grade; and that such is the invariable usage of maritime nations, particularly the British, whose navy has arrived to its greatest perfection.

That the unexampled promotion of a single officer on board of any frigate, after a successful engagement, when all did their duty, with signal but equal brilliancy, must necessarily be detrimental, if not destructive to the service, inasmuch as it is a tacit reflection upon the conduct of those officers who are overlooked.

That the masters and commandants appointed to the smaller vessels of the navy, are generally attached to frigates, and consequently are placed by their superior grade in a more unfavorable situation for promotion than officers of an inferior grade attached to frigates, thereby rendering the grade which they had previously acquired by good conduct an obstacle to future promotion; apart from etiquette, the impolicy and injustice of such promotions cannot be made more obvious by argument.

That your memorialist is confirmed in these sentiments by the opinions of some of the oldest and most respectable officers in the service, and by all the gentlemen of the navy of the same grade with your memorialist, and with whom he has communicated, many of whom think they cannot reconcile it with their honor to continue in the service, if so unprecedented a nomination should be ratified by the Senate. JAMES LAWRENCE.

U. S. Ship "Hornet," Oct. 22, 1812.

II.

THE AMERICAN REPORT OF THE ACTION BETWEEN UNITED STATES FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE" AND H. B. M. FRIGATE "SHANNON."

HALIFAX, June 15, 1813.

SIR:

The unfortunate death of Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow has rendered it my duty to inform you of the capture of the late United States frigate "Chesapeake."

On Tuesday, June 1st, at 8 A. M. we unmoored ship, and at meridian got under way from President's Roads with a light wind from the southward and westward, and proceeded on a cruise.

A ship was then in sight in the offing, which had the appearance of a ship-of-war, and which from information received from pilot-boats and craft we believed to be the British frigate "Shannon."

We made sail in chase, and cleared ship for action.

At half past four P. M., she hove to with her head to the southward and eastward.

At 5 P. M. took in the royals and top gallant sails, and at half past five hauled the courses up.

At fifteen minutes before 6 the action commenced within pistol shot.

The first broadside did great execution on both sides, damaging our rigging, killed among others, Mr. White, the sailing master, and wounded Captain Lawrence. In about twelve minutes after the commencement of the ac-

tion, we fell aboard the enemy, and immediately after, one of the arm chests on the quarter was blown up by a hand grenade thrown from the enemy's ship.

In a few minutes one of the captain's aides came on the gun-deck to inform me that the boarders were called.

I immediately called the boarders away, and proceeded to the spar-deck, where I found that the enemy had succeeded in boarding us, and had gained possession of our quarter-deck. I immediately gave orders to haul aboard the foretack, for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the other, and then made an attempt to regain the quarter-deck, but was wounded and thrown down on the gun-deck. I again made an effort to collect the boarders, but in the meantime the enemy had gained complete possession of the ship.

On my being carried down to the cockpit, I there found Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, both mortally wounded; the former had been carried below previously to the ship's being boarded, and the other was wounded in trying to repel boarders.

Among those who fell early in the action was Edward J. Ballard, the fourth lieutenant,* and Lieutenant James Broome, of Marines.

I herein inclose you a return of the killed and wounded, by which you will perceive that every officer upon whom the charge of the ship would devolve was either killed or wounded previously to her capture.

The enemy report the loss of Mr. Watt, their first lieutenant, the purser, the captain's clerk and twenty-three seamen killed, and Captain Broke, a midshipman and fifty-six seamen wounded.

The "Shannon" had in addition to her full comple-

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* See Roster.

ment, an officer and 16 men belonging to the "Belle Poule," and a part of the crew belonging to the "Tenedos."

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

GEORGE BUDD.

Hon. Wm. Jones, Secretary of the Navy.

III.

COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE'S REPORT OF THE ACTION BETWEEN "CHESAPEAKE" AND "SHANNON."

NAVY YARD, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.
2d June, 1813.

SIR:

It has become my painful duty, as commanding officer on this station, to convey to you the unpleasant intelligence of the capture of the frigate "Chesapeake," by the British frigate "Shannon." The particulars of this unfortunate occurrence, are, from what I have been able to collect, as follows:

Yesterday forenoon the frigate "Shannon" appeared in the bay, full in sight from the harbor. At meridian the "Chesapeake" got under way from President Roads, and stood out with a fair wind. Mr. Knox, the pilot on board left her at 5 P. M., the Light House bearing W. ½ N., distance 6 leagues, the "Shannon" then in sight, and the "Chesapeake" prepared for action, standing for her. At 6 P. M., Mr. Knox informs, the "Chesapeake" opened a fire which was not returned, and at 12 minutes past 6 both ships were laying alongside of each other as if in the act of boarding: at that moment an explosion took place on board the "Chesapeake," which spread a fire on her upper

deck from the foremast to the mizzenmast apparently as high as her tops, and enveloped both ships in smoke for several minutes. After the smoke cleared away they were seen separated, with the British colors hoisted on board the "Chesapeake" over the American, both ships standing to the eastward. The well-proved courage and skill of Captain Lawrence and the bravery of the officers and crew justify a full belief that the loss of the "Chesapeake" has been entirely owing to some fortuitous event happening on board of her, and not to any superiority of skill or bravery in the enemy. But should they improperly impute it to the latter, they will find it necessary to give more than one solitary instance, to convince our officers and brave tars, that they are superior.

We have lost one frigate, but in losing her I am confident we have lost no reputation.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. BAINBRIDGE.

Hon. Wm. Jones, Esq.,
Secretary of the Navy,
Washington City.

Copied from Captain's Letters, 1813, Vol. 4.
Navy Department Files.

IV.

PILOT KNOX'S REPORT OF ACTION BETWEEN THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND "SHANNON."

At 5 P. M. I left the "Chesapeake," Boston Light House bearing about West distant six leagues; the "Shannon" then in sight, and the "Chesapeake" prepared for action

standing for her. At 6 P. M. the action commenced, and in twelve minutes after both ships were yard and yard arm alongside each other, as if in the act of boarding. At that moment an immense explosion took place on board the "Chesapeake," which spread a fire from the foremast to the mizzenmast, apparently as high as the tops, on which both vessels were enveloped invisibly in smoke, and on the smoke clearing away the English colors were seen flying on board the "Chesapeake" over the American, and both vessels were standing to the eastward. From every appearance it appeared to me that the loss of the "Chesapeake" was owing to the unfortunate explosion which took place on board of her. JOHN KNOX.

Navy Yard, Charlestown, Boston,
4th of June, 1813.

V.

SIR PHILIP BROKE'S REPORT OF THE ACTION BETWEEN "CHESAPEAKE" AND "SHANNON."

A letter from the Honorable Captain Capel, of H.M.B.S. "La Hogue" to John Wilson Croker, Esq., dated Halifax, June 11, 1813.

SIR:

It is with the greatest pleasure I transmit you a letter I have just received from Captain Broke, of His Majesty's ship "Shannon," detailing a most brilliant achievement in the capture of the U. States frigate "Chesapeake" in 15 minutes. Capt. Broke relates so fully the particulars of this gallant affair, that I feel it unnecessary to add much to his narrative; but I cannot forbear expressing the pleasure I feel in bearing testimony to the indefatigable exer-

tions and persevering zeal of Captain Broke during the time he has been under my orders; placing a firm reliance on the valor of his officers and crew, and a just confidence in his system of discipline, he sought every opportunity of meeting the enemy on fair terms; and I have to rejoice with the country and his friends, at the glorious result of the contest; he gallantly headed his boarders in the assault, and carried all before him. His wounds are severe, but I trust the country will not long be deprived of his services.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

THOMAS BLADEN CAPEL,
Capt. and Senior Officer at Halifax.

"SHANNON," HALIFAX, June 6, 1813.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you, that being close in with Boston Light House in His Majesty's ship under my command, on the 1st inst., I had the pleasure of seeing that the United States frigate "Chesapeake," whom we had long been watching, was coming out of the harbor to engage the "Shannon"; I took a position between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and then hove to for him to join us; the enemy came down in a very handsome manner, having three American ensigns flying; when closing with us he sent down his royal yards, I kept the "Shannon's" up, expecting the breeze to die away.

At half-past five P. M. he hauled up within hail of us on the starboard side, and the battle began, both ships steering under the topsails; after exchanging between two and three broadsides the enemy's ship fell on board of us, her mizzen channels locking in with our fore rigging.

I went forward to ascertain her position, and observing

that the enemy were flinching from their guns, I gave orders to prepare for boarding. Our gallant band appointed to that service, immediately rushed on, under their respective officers, upon the enemy's decks, driving everything before them with irresistible fury.

The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance. The firing continued at all the gangways and between the tops, but in two minutes' time, the enemy were driven, sword in hand, from every post.

The American flag was hauled down and the proud old British union floated triumphant over it.

In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

I have to lament the loss of many of my gallant shipmates, but they fell exulting in their conquest.

My brave first lieutenant, Mr. Watt, was slain in the moment of victory, in the act of hoisting the British colors; his death is a severe loss to the service.

Mr. Aldham, the purser, who had spiritedly volunteered the charge of a party of small arm men, was killed at his post on the gangway. My faithful old clerk, Mr. Dunn, was shot by his side. Mr. Aldham has left a widow to lament his loss. I request the Commander-in-chief will recommend her to the protection of my lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. My veteran boatswain, Mr. Stephens, has lost an arm. He fought under Lord Rodney on the 12th April. I trust his age and service will be duly rewarded.

I am happy to say that Mr. Samwell, a midshipman of much merit, is the only other officer wounded, besides myself, and he not dangerously. Of my gallant seamen and marines we had 23 slain and 56 wounded. I subjoin the names of the former.

No expressions I can make use of can do justice to the merits of my officers and crew; the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade, and the tremendous precision of their fire, was only equalled by the ardor with which they rushed to the assault. I recommend them all warmly to the Commander-in-chief.

Having received a sabre wound at the first onset, whilst charging a part of the enemy, who had rallied upon their forecastle, I was only capable of giving command till assured our victory was complete. I then directed my second lieutenant, Mr. Wallis, to take command of the "Shannon," and secure the prisoners. I left the third lieutenant, Mr. Falkner (who had headed the main deck boarders) in charge of the prize. I beg to recommend these officers most thoroughly to the Commander-in-chief's patronage, for the gallantry they displayed during the action, and the skill and judgment they evinced in the anxious duties which afterwards devolved upon them.

To Mr. Etouch, the acting master, I am much indebted for the steadiness in which he conn'd the ship into action. The lieutenants Johns and Law of the Marines bravely boarded at the head of their respective divisions.

It is impossible to particularize every brilliant deed performed by my officers and men; but I must mention, when the ship's yards were locked together, that Mr. Cosnohan, who commanded in our main top, finding himself screened from the enemy by the foot of their topsail, laid out at the main yardarm to fire upon them, and shot three men in that situation. Mr. Smith, who commanded in our foretop, stormed the enemy's foretop from the foreyard arm and destroyed *all the Americans remaining in it.*

I particularly beg leave to recommend Mr. Etouch, the acting master, and Messrs. Smith, Leake, Clavering, Raymond and Littlejohn, midshipmen. The latter officer is the

son of Captain Littlejohn, who was slain in the "Berwick."

The loss of the enemy was about 70 killed and 100 wounded. Among the former were the four lieutenants, a lieutenant of marines, the master, and many other officers. Captain Lawrence is now dead of his wounds.

The enemy came into action with a complement of 440 men; the "Shannon" having picked up some recaptured seamen, had 330. The "Chesapeake" is a fine frigate, and mounts 49 guns, 18's on main deck, two and thirties on her quarter-deck and forecastle.

Both ships came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute.

I have the honor to be, etc. P. B. V. Broke.

To Captain, the honorable
T. Bladen Capel,
Captain and senior officer at Halifax.

List of killed on board His Majesty's "Shannon":

G. T. L. Watt, 1st lieutenant.

G. Aldham, Purser.

John Dunn, Captain's clerk.

Seamen: G. Gilbert, William Berilles, Noil Cilcherist, Thomas Selby, James Long, John Young, James Wallace, Joseph Brown, Thomas Barr, Michael Murphy, Thomas Jones, John O'Connelly, and Thomas Barry (first class boy).

Marines: Samuel Millard, corporal; Jas. Jayms, Dominique Sader, and William Young, privates.

Supernumeraries: William Morrisay, John Moriarity, and Thomas German.

VI.

LIEUTENANT WALLIS'S REPORT OF INJURIES SUSTAINED BY THE U. S. FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE" DURING ACTION OF JUNE 1, 1813.

An account of shot which entered the sides of the American frigate "Chesapeake," in the action with His Majesty's ship "Shannon," June 1, 1813:

Bowsprit.—32-pounder, round, inside gammoning, 3 inches deep; outside ditto, 7 grape, 3 inches deep.

Foremast.—2 grape, 10 inches deep, 6 feet above deck; 4 grape, 4 inches deep, 20 feet above deck; 18-pounder, round, 4 inches deep, 20 feet above deck.

Main-mast.—18-pounder, round, 5 inches deep, 5 feet from main deck; 9-pounder, round, 10 inches deep, 12 feet above quarter-deck; 2 grape, 10 inches deep, 20 feet above deck.

Mizzen-mast.—7 grape, 3 inches deep, 10 feet above quarter-deck; 18-pounder, round, 6 inches deep, 12 feet above deck; 4 grape, 3 inches deep, 15 feet above deck.

Fife-rail, Larboard Head.—8 grape, through.

Under Larboard Head.—4 grape, through.

Bluff of Bows.—18-pounder, round, 6 inches deep.

Bluff of Bows.—4 18-pounders, round, 8 inches deep; 30 grape, 8 inches deep.

2nd and 3rd Guns under Fore Chains.—In the Wales, 4 grape, 3 inches deep; 2 grape, 2 inches deep.

3rd and 4th guns.—6 grape, through; 8 grape, 3 inches deep.

4th gun under Channel.—6 grape, 4 inches deep.

Fore Chain Plates.—Shot away.

6th and 7th guns, between.—9 grape shot, 3 inches deep.

7th gun in the Wale.—18-pounder, round, through; 11 grape, 2 inches deep.

9th gun under Main Chains.—5 grape, 2 inches deep.

13th gun, side.—2 18-pounders, round, through.

Same. Water's Edge.—32-pounder, round, 2 through; 2 grape, 2 inches deep.

Aftermost Port, Water's Edge.—2 32-pounders, round, through; 18-pounder, round, through; 1 pump-bolt, through; 3 grape, 2 inches deep.

Quarter Gallery, Foremost Wale.—3 32-pounders, round, through; 10 grape, through; frame work all carried away.

4 feet abaft after Port.—2 32-pounders, round, through; 3 grape, 2 inches deep.

9 feet abaft after Port.—2 32-pounders, round, through.

3 feet above Water's Edge in the Run.—32-pounder, round, through.

2 feet from Stern Ports.—2 feet above Water's Edge.—18-pounder, round, 14 inches deep; 32-pounder, round, through; 12 grape, 3 inches deep; stern-ports, 2 18-pounders, round, 3 inches deep.

Starboard side Counter.—7 planks, through; stern-ports carried away; grape, 10 through.

Upper Counter.—18-pounder, round, through.

Bulwarks.—

Forecastle.—60 grape, through; 2 18-pounders, round, through.

Above Chains.—5 grape, through; 3 chain plates.

Main Chains.—5 grape, through.

Mizzen Chain.—12 grape, 3 inches deep.

Abaft ditto.—18-pounder, round, through; 6 grape, 3 inches deep.

United States Frigate "Chesapeake,"
P. W. P. Wallis,
Commanding Officer.

VII.

Lieutenant Wallis's Report of the Injuries Sustained by the "Shannon" during the Action of June 1, 1813.

An account of shot which entered His Majesty's ship "Shannon," in the action with the "Chesapeake," June 1, 1813:

Shot, round, 32-pounder, cut away in the wake outer gammoning, 2 inches deep; grape, 7 in number, between 4 inches and 7 inches deep.

Foremast.—Shot, round, 32-pounder, 4 inches deep, 15 feet above deck.

Mainmast.—32-pounder, main deck, 1, depth, 1½ inches; 18-pounder, 10 feet above deck, 1½ inches deep; grape, 10 feet above deck, 2 inches deep; grape, 1½ inches deep in different places; chain, 1, depth 1½ inches, 15 feet above deck, 3 feet deep; grazes in several places, 1 inch deep.

Mizzenmast.—32-pounder, round, 16 feet above deck, 3 feet split away in breadth, 5 feet up and down, and 6 inches deep; grape, 4 do., abreast, 3 inches deep.

Cutwater and Knee of the Head.—32-pounder, round, 2 in number, through; 18-pounder, round, near the same

place; 32-pounder, round, in the hawse holes; hawes pipes split away under the knee; several grape 2 inches deep.

Bows.—32-pounder, round, through bows; knight heads shot away; several grape through bulwark.

Between 1st and 2nd Guns.—18, round, through; 18-pounder, round, 2 inches deep.

Under Fore Chains between 3rd and 4th Guns.—32-pounder, round, through forecastle; 6 grape, 2 inches deep.

Water's Edge, Fore Chains.—Shot, 18-pounder, through; chain, depth 3 inches; grape, 2, 3 inches deep; 1 bolt, iron, 10 inches deep, and 6 chain-plates.

Between the 5th and 6th guns in the Wale.—32-pounder, round, 2, 10 inches deep; 18-pounder, round, through; grape, 2, 4 inches deep; 7 grape, 5 inches deep.

Water's Edge, 7th Gun.—Chain 1, 5 inches deep; 6 grape, 4 inches deep.

Main Chains, 8th and 9th Guns.—32-pounder, round, through; 1 canister, 6 inches deep; 18-pounder, round, 4 inches deep; 4 barshot, 8 inches deep.

Water's Edge, 10th Gun.—18-pounder, through; 12 grape, 3 inches deep; 4 chain-plates; 1 bolt, 3 inches deep; 6 grape, 3 inches deep; 32-pounder, round, through larboard side.

12th Gun, Water's Edge, Channel Wale.—18-pounder, round, through; 3 grape, 3 inches deep; 32-pounder, round, through; 4 grape, 2 inches deep.

13th Gun, Mizzen Chains, Water's Edge.—Iron bolts, 2 in number, through 2 chain-plates; 5 grape, 2 inches deep.

14th Gun, in the Wale.—18-pounder, round, through; 1 grape, 3 inches deep.

Quarter Gallery in the Wale.—32-pounder, round, through; 6 grape, through.

Forecastle.—Grapeshot, 20 through; larboard bumpkin shot away; fore-channel shot away; forecastle and waist hammock stanchions shot away.

Bulwarks. Quarter-deck.—Main chains, as above, 32-pounder, round, through; 10 grape, 3 inches deep. Main chains much shot away; 18-pounder, round, through; 3 grape, through. Mizzen chains as above, 32-pounder, round, through; grape, 10 through. Mizzen chains much shot away. H. M. S. "Shannon,"

(Signed) P. W. P. WALLIS, Commanding Officer;
Captain at Sick Quarters.

VIII.

ENGLISH ORDERS IN REGARD TO FUNERAL OF LAWRENCE AT HALIFAX.

HALIFAX, 7th of June, 1813.

Garrison Order:

A funeral party will be furnished to-morrow by the 64th Regiment, consisting of 300 rank and file, with a proper proportion of officers, and to be supplied with three rounds of blank cartridges to each man; to inter the remains of Captain Lawrence, late of the American frigate "Chesapeake" from the King's Wharf at half-past one P. M.

The band of that Corps will attend, and the party will be commanded by Lieutenant Col. Sir J. Wardlow.

The officers of the garrison will be pleased to attend the Commandant there, at quarter before two, to march in procession, *wearing a piece of black crape around their left arm.* F. T. THOMAS, Major of Brigade.

Navy Order:

The body of the Commander of the late U. S. frigate "Chesapeake" will be interred to-morrow at two o'clock. The Captain and Commanders, with a portion of Lieutenants and Midshipmen, agreeable to the following order of procession will attend the funeral, and will assemble precisely at one o'clock alongside the "Chesapeake" for that purpose.

THOMAS B. CAPEL,
Captain and Senior Officer at Halifax.

Order of procession from ships.

Pall Bearers.		Pall Bearers.
Abreast of Corpse.		Abreast of Corpse.
Captain Baker.	The Body.	Captain Head.
Captain Pearce.		Captain Perchell.
Captain Collier.		Captain Blythe.

Boats two and two, with Midshipmen, Lieutenants, Commanders, or Lieutenants Commanding vessels.

Commanders.
Post Captains.

Order of procession on shore.

Funeral Firing Party.

Pall Bearers. { The Body. } Pall Bearers.

Officers of Privateers.
American Naval Officers.
English Naval Officers.
Midshipmen.
Lieutenants.
Officers of Garrison according to rank.
Post Captains.
Staff Officers.
General and Senior Officers.

IX.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COMMON COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY UPON THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE.

The day after Lawrence's body arrived in New York the Common Council of that city passed the following resolutions:

The Common Council received with feelings of the deepest regret, intelligence of the death of Captain James Lawrence, who fell in the late engagement of the United States frigate "Chesapeake," with the British frigate "Shannon." . . . While they mingle their tears with those of their fellow-citizens in lamenting his loss, they also add their tribute of esteem and admiration for the gallantry which he displayed in that action which terminated his honorable career.

To reward, by marks of public esteem, deeds of individual heroism is just, as the recompense of merit, and is proper as an incentive to future acts of patriotism. To evince therefore the high sense that this corporation entertain of acts of devotion to our common country, and of the affectionate regard in which they hold the memory of the late Captain James Lawrence. It is resolved, That the sum of one thousand dollars be granted to each of the two children of Capt. Lawrence, and be vested in the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund of this Corporation, to be applied, at the discretion of the Commissioners, to the education of the children, or the interest arising therefrom, to be added (at least yearly) to the principal, and the aggregate amount to be paid by them to the said children; to the daughter when she shall arrive at the age of 18 years, and to the son when he shall attain the age of

21 years. In case of the death of either before his or her arrival at the age above mentioned, the portion of the deceased to go to the survivor; and in case of the death of both, the sums to revert to the Common Council, to be applied to reward such naval merit as they may determine.

The Common Council having been also informed that the remains of Captain Lawrence, and of his gallant companion in arms, Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow, who fell gloriously with him, have been brought to this city for burial—

Resolved further, That the Common Council will take charge of their interment.

X.

GENERAL ORDER OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT ON THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE.

Order.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, June 29, 1813.

SIR:

Having received the official account of the capture of the U. States frigate "Chesapeake" by the British frigate "Shannon," after a sanguinary and disastrous conflict, in which the brave and excellent Captain James Lawrence terminated a life of glory, you will cause the ceremonies due to worth and valor to be observed to-morrow at 8 A. M. by displaying the flags at the Navy Yard, and on board the vessels in ordinary, half mast, and firing 18 minute guns, which will be repeated at meridian, and again at sunset, when the flags will be hauled down.

I am, respectfully, your obd't. servant,

(Signed) W. JONES.

Commodore Tingey.

XI.

RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS ON THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE.

On July 27, 1813, the following resolution was submitted for consideration by Mr. Nelson, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to examine and report on the propriety of conferring public honors on the memory of James Lawrence, late of the U. States frigate "Chesapeake," and of Zebulon M. Pike, late a brigadier general in the armies of the U. States, whose distinguished deaths in the service of their country add lustre to the character of the American nation, the propriety of adopting as the peculiar children of the Republic, the sons of those distinguished heroes, and the propriety of making provision for the support and comfort of the families of the deceased officers.

This resolution was not adopted, but in lieu of it, Mrs. Lawrence was granted a pension of $50 per month for a period of ten years.*

* In 1823 the widow of Lawrence petitioned for a continuance of her pension of $50 a month, which had expired under the law, and was refused it! The Committee on Naval Affairs reported "that duly appreciating the merits and bravery of Captain Lawrence, yet they are of the opinion that it is inexpedient at the present time to grant her petition, and recommend the petitioner have leave to withdraw her request."

A double period of five years of $1,200, was, it would seem, considered ample compensation to the widow and children of Lawrence for his noble self-sacrifice! Another instance of the proverbial ingratitude of republics.—Preble.

XII.

RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED IN THE SENATE OF MASSACHUSETTS AFTER THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE, COMMENDING THE VICTORY OF THE "HORNET" OVER THE "PEACOCK."

The following preamble and resolutions were proposed and laid upon the table by the Honorable Mr. Quincy and adopted by the Senate, June 15, 1813:

Whereas a proposition has been made to this Senate for the adoption of sundry resolutions, expressive of their sense of the gallantry and good conduct exhibited by Captain James Lawrence, Commander of the United States Ship-of-War "Hornet," and the officers and crew of that ship, in the destruction of his Britannic Majesty's Ship-of-War "Peacock": And whereas it has been found that former resolutions of this kind, passed on similar occasions relative to other officers, engaged in like sense, have given great discontent to many of the good people of this Commonwealth, it being considered by them as an encouragement and excitement to the continuance of the present, unfair, unnecessary and iniquitous war, and, on that account the Senate of Massachusetts have deemed it their duty to refrain from acting on the said proposition.

And also, whereas this determination of the Senate may, without explanation, be misconstrued into an intentional slight of Capt. L. and denial of his particular merits; the Senate therefore deem it their duty to declare that

they have a high sense of the naval skill and military and civil virtues of Captain James Lawrence; and that they have been withheld from acting on said proposition solely from considerations relative to the nature and principle of the present war. And to the end that all misrepresentations on this subject may be obviated, Resolved, as the sense of the Senate of Massachusetts, that in a war like the present, waged without just cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express approbation of military and naval exploits, which are not immediately connected with the defence of our sea coast and soil.

XIII.

GENERAL ORDER OF NAVY DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCING THE CAPTURE OF THE "CHESAPEAKE'S" SIGNAL BOOK.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, July 14, 1813.

By the capture of the U. S. frigate "Chesapeake" and the sudden prostration of Captain Lawrence and all his officers, the *Private Signals* of the United States have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and in order to multiply the chances of intelligence to the absent ships of the navy, through the circulation of the public prints this notice is given. The public agents of the United States in foreign countries, and citizens traversing the ocean, are respectfully requested to communicate this information.

XIV.

BILL OF EXPENSES FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE BODIES OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE AND LIEUTENANT LUDLOW.

Extract from a letter from Charles Ludlow, at Windsor Hill, January 30, 1815, to his brother, Robert C. Ludlow, Esqr., Purser, United States Navy:

"When I was last in town I dined at Coxes, and to my utter astonishment did not see Mrs. Lawrence, nor did I see her while I was in town, which I could not account for until a few days ago I received a note from Cox enclosing me the bill of expenses for bringing on the body of our poor brother—the account headed Dr. to the Estate of J. Lawrence, $266.93, with a request for me to forward the balance. I did not say anything to Cox about the business while I was in town, and as he said nothing to me, had concluded that you had settled it, and what strengthened my expectations, was what you had wrote me some time ago, that you believed that there would be enough prize money & pay coming to settle all."

* * * * * * *

Chas. Ludlow, Esq.

To Cox & Montaudevert, Dr.

for one-half sundry expences incurred by Mr. Cox in bringing the remains of Capt. Lawrence & Lieut. Ludlow from Boston to this City—viz.:

N. Appleton's Bill for making Coffins, &c.....	$51.66
I. Whittimore's Bill for opening and filling tomb.	4.67
W. Rope's Bill for making lead Coffin.....	18.25
J. Richardson's Bill for Sheet Lead.....	66.38

Waggoner's Bill for bringing the bodies.....	279.50
Servants' expences from Boston.....	6.21
Messrs. Lawrence's Bill for Blk. Silk Velvet....	62.00
Messrs. Pratt & Smith's Bill for Blk. Silk Velvet.	15.19
Messrs. Little & White's Bill for Blk. Silk Velvet.	24.00
Mr. Huight's Bill for Brass Nails.....	6.00
	$533.86
	½ is $266.93

N York Feby 17th 1814.
E.E.
Cox & Montaudevert,
Per Henry Phelps.

XV.

POEMS IN MEMORY OF LAWRENCE AND LUDLOW.

LAWRENCE THE BRAVE.

From the American Star, Richmond, Va., 1817.

The streamlets were flying, the canvas was spreading
The banner of war floated high in the air.
The gale on its pinions to combat was speeding,
The Chief of Columbia—her glory in war;
Undaunted he stood, as the billows that rolled
Round the barge that he guided through ocean's blue wave;
His helmet was honor, and fame nerved his soul
To gather a prize worthy Lawrence the brave.

Columbia's bright genius around him was hov'ring,
To shield her love 'mid the carnage below,
And Fate from the impulse of valor recov'ring
Seized a javelin of death and directed the blow;
Ah! sad was the hour, when she saw from on high,
The cross of proud Albion triumphantly wave,
And bitter the moment she viewed with a sigh,
On the deck, pale and lifeless, laid Lawrence the brave.

"Ah, me!" she exclaimed, "has my hero descended,
From glory's meridian, the zenith of fame;
Shall he who while dying his country defended,
Like her form be forgotten, forgotten his name?
And now for the sigh, for the kindred that bled,
Shall water the laurel that blows on his grave,
They ceased, and in anguish she silently shed,
The tear drops of sorrow for Lawrence the brave."

TO LUDLOW.

From the Boston Gazette, June, 1813.

Great spirit of the mighty dead,
Descend a while and linger here,
And tears which love and pity shed,
Shall fall to grace a hero's bier.

To thee thy foes could not refuse
The mead to valor justly due;
Nor shall an humble, lonely muse,
Forget to praise a patriot true.

What though no friends or kindred dear,
To grace his obsequies attend;
The foemen are his brothers here,
And every hero is his friend.

XVI.

EXTRACT FROM A MEMORIAL TO CAPTAIN LAWRENCE.

Our brave departed hero, Captain Lawrence, won the victory of the "Hornet" over the "Peacock" after his rights had been violated by the ridiculous Hamilton (then Secretary of the Navy), who taunted and spurned the feelings of the hero, because he had the firmness to remonstrate against his injury. Where is there to be found a man in the country that did not, while he admired the conqueror, and the noble ardor and virtuous patriotism which prompted him to stand by the flag of his country, condemn the haughty and unmeaning insolence of the man who had robbed him of the honored rank to which he was entitled.—*The Spirit of '76*, September 27, 1813.

XVII.

LIST OF OFFICERS ATTACHED TO THE UNITED STATES SLOOP-OF-WAR "HORNET" IN HER ACTION WITH H. B. M. S. "PEACOCK," 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 1813.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
James Lawrence,	Captain.	Commanding.
David Connor,	Lieutenant.	Died a Captain, March 20, 1856.
Walter Stewart,	Lieutenant.	Died a Lieutenant, April 12, 1817.
John T. Shubrick,	Lieutenant.	Lost in the "Epervier" in 1815.
John T. Newton,	Acting Lieutenant.	Died a Captain, July 28, 1837.
William E. McKenney,	Midshipman.	Died a Commander, August 24, 1839.
William S. Cox,	Midshipman.	Dismissed, April 26, 1814.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
French Forrest,	Midshipman.	Captain U. S. Navy, March 30, 1844; dismissed April 19, 1861. Entered Confederate Navy.
George Getz,	Midshipman.	Resigned, February 5, 1814.
Joseph Smoot,	Midshipman.	Died a Captain, March 13, 1857.
Thos. A. Tippet,	Midshipman.	Lieutenant, 1817.
Benjamin Cooper,	Midshipman.	Died a Captain, June 1, 1850.
Isaac Mayo,	Midshipman.	Captain, Sept. 8, 1841. Dismissed, May 18, 1861. Went South.
William Boerum,	Midshipman.	Commander. Drowned, Nov. 2, 1842.
Ira Titus,	Midshipman.	Furloughed, 1816.
Charles Cotton,	Acting Surgeon.	Surgeon, resigned, Dec. 10, 1823.
M. C. Atwood,	Acting Purser.	Entered as Midshipman, Dec. 17, 1810. Died, 1823.
Pliney Hayes,	Captain's Clerk.	No record.
David Eaton,	Boatswain.	No record.
John Myrick,	Gunner.	No record.
John Earle.	Sailmaker.	No record.
Martin Burches,	Carpenter.	No record.
Micajah Hawkes,	Surgeon's Mate.	No record.
Robert E. Rich,	Steward.	No record.

XVIII.

MUSTER ROLL OF THE UNITED STATES SLOOP-OF-WAR "HORNET" AT THE TIME OF HER ACTION WITH H. B. M. S. "PEACOCK," 24TH FEBRUARY, 1813.

Place and date of entry, name, rank, and date of discharge:

Date of Entry, Boston, October 1, 1812.

Zepheniah White, O. S.....April 7, 1813
Henry Hardenbrook, Arm'r.....April 7, 1813
Julias Fortune, O. S.....April 18, 1813
John Goodwin ,S.....April 7, 1813
John D. Robertson, O. S .....April 18, 1813
Joseph Williams, O. S.....February 24, 1813

Date of Entry, Boston, October 1, 1812.

William Randall, S.....April 7, 1813
Jeremiah Grandison, O. S.....April 7, 1813
John Kelley, Qr. Gr.....April 18, 1813
Mathew Fargo, Qr. Gr.....April 8, 1813
John T. Newton, Mids's m'te.....May 9, 1813

Promoted, Acting Lieut., October 22, 1812.

Michael Murray, Lands'n.....April 25, 1813
Robert Knox, S.....April 6, 1813
Reuben Burns, Qr. Mr.....April 23, 1813
James Bunting, Boy.....April 16, 1813
Joseph Dalrimple, S.....April 16, 1813
John Green, O. S.....April 18, 1813
Robert Vanderpool, O. S.....April 23, 1813
William Shurwood, S.....April 23, 1813
Alexander Cameron, Qr. Mr.....April 28, 1813
James Kneese, O. S.....April 28, 1813
William Smith, B. Mte.....May 9, 1813
Kensey Garner, C. Mte.....May 9, 1813
Aaron Totten, O. S.....May 9, 1813
John Myrick, Gunner.....May 9, 1813
Malcomb McCloud, O. S.....May 8, 1813
John Williams, 1st, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Sam'l Sanderford, Qr. Gr.....May 9, 1813
James Groves, S.....May 9, 1813
Joseph Smoot, Mids'n.....May 9, 1813
John Shepard, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Emanuel Taff, S.....May 9, 1813
Thos. A. Tippet, Mids'n.....May 9, 1813
John Smith, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Archibald Dare, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Francis Sommers, S.....May 9, 1813
George Stephens, S.....May 9, 1813
Peter Morris, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Adam Pringle, O. S.....May 9, 1813
William Sinclair, O. S.....May 9, 1813
George Coffin, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Lewis Todd, O. S.....March 8, 1813
Andrew Fuller, S.....May 9, 1813
Robert Ennis, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Richard Day, S.....May 9, 1813

Date of Entry, Boston, October 1, 1812.

William Fowler, Qr. Gr. ..... May 9, 1813
Jonathan Wilder, Qr. Mr. ..... May 9, 1813
Peleg Green, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Williams, 2nd, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
Henry Peterson, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
Edwd. McLaughlin, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
Thomas Pyfer, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Brown, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
William Johnson, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
Michael Herring, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Dunn, S ..... April 18, 1813
Edward Dunn, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Samuel Coleston, S. ..... May 9, 1813
William Armstrong, S. ..... May 9, 1813
William Hunter, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Thomas Wright, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Robertson, 2nd, S. ..... May 9, 1813
James Lucas, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Wharton, S. ..... May 9, 1813
William Elmore, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Daniel Smith, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Philip Spinks, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Feckke, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Boyd, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Earle, Sail Mr. ..... April 28, 1813
William Rose, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Wright, Qr. Gr. ..... May 9, 1813
Samuel Butler, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Henry Otherman, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
William Wood, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Peter Senwick, S. ..... May 9, 1813
John Craig, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
Peter Fletcher, O. S. ..... May 9, 1813
James Lawrence, Capt. ..... April 25, 1813
Promoted Post-Capt., March 4, 1813. ..... May 9, 1813
Benjamin Cooper, Mids'n ..... May 9, 1813
Promoted Mr. Mate, October 26, 1813. ..... May 9, 1813
Henry B. Sands, S. ..... May 9, 1813
Hanibal Boyd, Cook. ..... February 24, 1813
William E. McKenney, Mids'n ..... May 9, 1813

Date of Entry, Boston, October 1, 1812.

Edward Parker, Boy.....May 9, 1813
George Corbett, Boy.....May 9, 1813
Isaac Mayo, Mids'n, Mr. Mt.....May 9, 1813
William Boerum, Mids'n.....May 9, 1813
Ira Titus, Mids'n .....May 9, 1813
Charles Henry, Mr. at Arms.....May 9, 1813
James Seward, S.....May 9, 1813
Seth Mayo, S.; promoted Qr. Mr., Dec. 18, 1812....May 9, 1813
John Herbert, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Thomas Sheldon, S.....May 9, 1813
James Williams, S.....May 9, 1813
John Gannon, O. S.....May 9, 1813
John Clemons, Qr. Gr.; reduced S., Jan. 13, 1813..May 9, 1813
John Ryan, S.....May 9, 1813
John Edwards, S.....May 9, 1812
Joseph Antonio, S.....May 9, 1813
James Watson, S.....May 9, 1813
Pliney Hayes, Capt. Clk.....April 4, 1813
John Freedman, Qr. Gr.....April 8, 1813
Danger'd Johnson, Boy.....May 9, 1813
John Wilson, O. S.....May 9, 1813
John Roley, O. S.....May 9, 1813
William Edgcomb, S.....May 9, 1813
William Shaw, S.....May 9, 1813
Daniel Ivers, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Daniel Riggs, O. S.....May 9, 1813
William Smith, 2nd S.....May 9, 1813
George Getz, Mids'n.....May 9, 1813
William Murray, S.....May 9, 1813
Charles Stewart, S.....May 9, 1813
French Forrest, Mids'n.....May 9, 1813
James Leonard, S.....May 9, 1813
Thomas Allexander, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Charles Prout, O. S.....May 9, 1813
David Beeby, O. S.....May 9, 1813
John Thompson, S.....May 9, 1813
John Place, O. S.....February 24, 1813
John Joseph, Qr. Gr.....April 25, 1813
John Young, O. S.....May 9, 1813
Alexander Thompson, O. S.....May 9, 1813

Date of Entry, Boston, October 1, 1812.
Samuel Stocker, O. S.....May 9, 1813
William L. Cox, Mids'n.
Promoted Act'g Sailg. Mr. Oct. 22, 1812.....May 9, 1813
Edward Gifford, B. Mte.....May 9, 1813
John Dixon, S.....May 9, 1813
Amos Brown, B. Mte.....May 9, 1813
Hull Silsby, S.....May 9, 1813
Andrew Wiley, S.....May 9, 1813
Elanson Crowell, S.....May 9, 1813
Enos Smith, S.....May 9, 1813
William Dorrell, S.....May 9, 1813
Alexander Navin, S.....May 9, 1813
John Fisher, S.....May 9, 1813
John Lee, S.....May 9, 1813
David Connor, Lieut.....May 9, 1813
Walter Stewart, Lieut.....May 9, 1813
David Eaton, Boat'n.....May 9, 1813
Date of Entry, Boston, October 3, 1812.
John Gill, S.; promoted Qr. Gr., January 13, 1813..April 16, 1813
Date of Entry, Boston, October 17, 1812.
Martin Burches, Carp'r.....May 9 1813
Date of Entry, Boston, October 10, 1812.
Robert E. Rich, Stew'd.....May 9, 1813
Date of Entry, Boston, October 22, 1812.
Charles Cotton, Act'g Surg.....April 10, 1813
Micajah Hawkes, Surg. Mate.....May 9, 1813
M. C. Atwood, Act'g Purser.....May 9, 1813
Date of Entry, Boston, October 13, 1812.
James Jackson, Sailmakr. Mate.....May , 1813
Date of Entry, At sea from Frigate "Constitution," Jan. 7, 1813
Thomas Yates, S.....May 9, 1813
John Hart, S.....February 24, 1813
Date of Entry, Bahia, December 16, 1812.
John Cates, S.....February 24, 1813
Date of Entry, S. America, December 17, 1812.
Silvester Bill, S'g Mr.....May 9, 1813
Date of Entry, At sea from Frigate "Constitution," Jan. 7, 1813
John T. Shubrick, Lieut.....May 9, 1813
John R. Howe, Boy.....May 9, 1813

XIX.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE" IN HER ACTION WITH H. B. M. S. "SHANNON," 1ST OF JUNE, 1813, CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE, COMMANDING.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
James Lawrence,	Captain.	Commanding. Killed in action.
Augustus C. Ludlow,	Lieutenant.	Killed in action.
George Budd,	Lieutenant.	Died a Commander, Sept. 3, 1837.
William Cox,	Acting Lieutenant.	Dismissed, April 26, 1814.
Edward J. Ballard,	Acting Lieutenant.	Killed in action, June 1, 1813.
Francis Nichols,	Midshipman.	Resigned Nov. 29, 1813.
Walter Abbott,	Midshipman.	Died Lieutenant, July 12, 1825.
William A. Weaver,	Midshipman.	Dismissed, Nov. 27, 1824.
Edmund M. Russell,	Midshipman.	Died Lieutenant, July 21, 1838.
William Berry,	Midshipman.	Died Lieutenant, July 17, 1824.
Pollard Hopewell,	Midshipman.	Killed in action, June 1, 1813.
John Evans,	Midshipman.	Killed in action, June 1, 1813.
Courtlandt Livingston,	Midshipman.	Killed in action, June 1, 1813.
William E. McKenney,	Midshipman.	Died a Commander, August 24, 1839.
James W. Forest,	Midshipman.	Dismissed.
William B. Randolph,	Midshipman.	Lost in the "Wasp," 1815.
D. Higginbotham,	Midshipman.	Died, Oct. 15, 1817.
Horatio Beatty,	Midshipman.	Resigned, Sept. 6, 1822.
William Steele,	Midshipman	Furloughed, 1818.
James A. Curtis,	Midshipman.	Resigned a Lieutenant, April 19, 1824.
Edward N. Thayer,	Midshipman.	Resigned, March 8, 1814.
—— Fleshman,	Acting Midshipman.	
Russel Baldwin,	Acting Midshipman.	Died a Lieutenant, April 25, 1832.
Benjamin Follett,	Acting Midshipman.	Died in 1823.

Name. Rank. Remarks.

Richard C. Edgar, Surgeon. Last appearance on Records of Navy Dept., 1823.

Samuel Livermore, Acting Chaplain. Last appearance on Records of Navy Dept., 1816.

Thomas I. Chew, Purser. Resigned, March 12, 1832.

William A. White, Sailing Master. Killed in action, June 1, 1813.

Peter Adams, Boatswain. Died from wounds received in action, June 1, 1813.

Matthew Rogers, Gunner. No record.

William Thompson, Sailmaker. No record.

George Miller, Carpenter. No record.

Ab'm W. Blanchard, Clerk. No record.

Josiah Rainsford, Steward. No record.

James Broom, First Lieutenant of Marines. Killed in action, June 1, 1813.

XX.

LIST OF CASUALTIES ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE" IN HER ACTION OF JUNE 1ST, 1813.

Name. Rank. Remarks.

James Lawrence, Captain. Died from wounds received during action.

Augustus C. Ludlow, Lieutenant. Died from wounds received during action.

George Budd, Lieutenant. Severely wounded during action.

William Cox, Acting Lieutenant. Slightly wounded during action.

Edward I. Ballard, Acting Lieutenant. Killed during action.

Samuel Livermore, Acting Chaplain. Severely wounded during action.

William A. White, Sailing Master. Killed during action.

Francis Nichol, Midshipman. Severely wounded during action.

Walter Abbott, Midshipman. Wounded during action.

William A. Weaver, Midshipman. Severely wounded during action.

Edmund M. Russel, Midshipman. Slightly wounded during action.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
William Berry,	Midshipman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Pollard Hopewell,	Midshipman.	Killed during action.
John Evans,	Midshipman.	Killed during action.
Courtlandt Livingston,	Midshipman.	Killed during action.
Peter Adams,	Boatswain.	Died from wounds received during action.
Jefferson Griffith,	Quartermaster.	Severely wounded during action.
Daniel Burnham,	Quartermaster.	Killed during action.
James A. Lewis,	Quartermaster.	Severely wounded during action.
James Woodbury,	Quartermaster.	Killed during action.
Thomas Jackson, 2nd,	Quartermaster.	Severely wounded during action.
Forbes Dela,	Quartergunner.	Died of wounds received during action.
Thomas Smith, 2nd,	Quartergunner.	Dangerously wounded during action.
John Veazy,	Quartergunner.	Severely wounded during action.
John Giles,	Quartergunner.	Slightly wounded during action.
Thomas Kouse,	Quartergunner.	Severely wounded during action.
Michael Kelley,	Quartergunner.	Killed during action.
John Carter,	Boatswain's Mate.	Killed during action.
Samuel Hatton,	Sailmaker's Mate.	Slightly wounded during action.
Thomas Finnegan,	Gunner's Yeoman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Sterling Clark,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
John Miller,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Daniel Martin,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Robert Bates,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
William Russell,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Andrew Williams,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Joseph Simonds,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
David Bias,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Henry Munroe,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Josiah Shatfield,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
John Philips,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
John Reed, 2nd,	Seaman.	Killed during action.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
James Betton,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
John Crabb,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Joseph Judith,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
John Jones,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Christopher Houston,	Seaman.	Killed during action.
Wm. McAfferty,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Narcus Mansel,	Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
John Dezink,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
John Peterswing,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Wm. Peterson,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
William Stewart,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Asa Newhall,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Alexander Brown,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
John McNiel,	Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
John Crutchett,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Thomas Jones, 2nd,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
John Caldwell,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
William Gardiner,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
John Kegan,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Peter John,	Seamen.	Slightly wounded during action.
John Smith,	Seamen.	Severely wounded during action.
Francis Symonds,	Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
Eliphalet Carr,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Thomas Flanagan,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
John Hodgman,	Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
Andrew Mercer,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
John Talman,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
James Parker,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Andrew Vandemear,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action
Darby Lee,	Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
Rola Peters,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Robert May,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
John Devo,	Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
Noah Dearborn,	Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
John Rollins,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Charles Sargent,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
William Metcalf,	Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.

Name. Rank. Remarks.

Charles Thompson, Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
James Durfee, Seaman. Slightly wounded during action.
William Hubar, Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
Benjamin Summer, Seaman. Dangerously wounded during action.
Abraham Cox, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Alexander Marino, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Thomas Evans, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Harris Ball, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
John W. Duggin, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Benjamin Esday, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Samuel Mullen, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Michael Sawyer, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
Samuel M. Perkins, Ordinary Seaman. Killed during action.
James Sprout, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
John Appleton, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
Peter Quantin, Ordinary Seaman. Dangerously wounded during action.
James Butler, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
John Johnson, Ordinary Seaman. Died from wounds received during action.
John Peterson, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
Thomas Sterling, Ordinary Seaman. Slightly wounded during action.
Joseph Weyland, Ordinary Seaman. Slightly wounded during action.
Francis Franklin, Ordinary Seaman. Slightly wounded during action.
Henry Hyde, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
Alexander Grant, Ordinary Seaman. Slightly wounded during action.
Enoch Hacket, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.
Ebenezer Day, Ordinary Seaman. Severely wounded during action.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Giles Cone,	Ordinary Seaman.	Dangerously wounded during action.
John Hunt,	Ordinary Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
Joseph Vaughan,	Ordinary Seaman.	Severely wounded during action.
Abraham Richardson,	Ordinary Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
Lewis Hanscom,	Ordinary Seaman.	Died of wounds received during action.
Mathias Douglass,	Ordinary Seaman.	Dangerously wounded during action.
Michael Twee,	Ordinary Seaman.	Slightly wounded during action.
George Craton,	Boy.	Killed during action.

MARINES.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
James Broome,	First Lieutenant.	Killed during action.
John Twiss,	Sergeant.	Slightly wounded during action.
William Harris,	Sergeant.	Slightly wounded during action.
William Dixon,	Corporal.	Died of wounds received during action.
Thomas Wheaton,	Private.	Killed during action.
Benjamin Morrison,	Private.	Killed during action.
John Mulligan,	Private.	Killed during action.
John German,	Private.	Killed during action.
John Huntress,	Private.	Killed during action.
James Traenor,	Private.	Killed during action.
Jacob Preston,	Private.	Killed during action.
Philip Bryant,	Private.	Killed during action.
Redmond Berry,	Private.	Killed during action.
Robert Standley,	Private.	Killed during action.
Delaney Ward,	Private.	Killed during action.
Richard Hoffman,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
James Brown,	Private.	Severely wounded during action.
Joseph Twiss,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
George Upham,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
John Crippen,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
Samuel Jackson,	Private,	Slightly wounded during action.
John Johnson,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
John Wright,	Private.	Dangerously wounded during action.
Miles Morris,	Private.	Severely wounded during action.
Matthias Wolberry,	Private.	Severely wounded during action.
Warren Fogg,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
Thomas Johnson,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
George Clyne,	Private.	Severely wounded during action.
Joseph Crane,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
William Lewis,	Private.	Severely wounded during action.
John Livre,	Private.	Slightly wounded during action.
John Brady,	Private.	Severely wounded during action.

XXI.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN BELONGING TO THE LATE UNITED STATES FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE" WHO WERE CARRIED TO HALIFAX AS PRISONERS OF WAR.

George Budd, Lieutenant.
Richard C. Edgar, Surgeon. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
William Cox, Acting Lieutenant. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Francis Nichols, Midshipman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Wm. E. McKenney, Midshipman. Returned to Boston per Henry.
Walter Abbott, Midshipman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
William Berry, Midshipman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
James W. Forest. Midshipman.
Wm. Randolph, Midshipman.
D. Higginbotham, Midshipman.
Wm. A. Weaver, Midshipman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.

Horatio Beatty, Midshipman.
Wm. Steele, Midshipman.
John Fisher, Midshipman.
James A. Curtis, Midshipman.
Edmund M. Russell, Midshipman.
Edward N. Thayer, Midshipman.
—— Fleshman, Act. Midshipman.
Russel Baldwin, Act. Midshipman. Returned to Boston per Henry.
Benjamin Follett, Act. Midshipman.
Samuel Livermore, Act. Chaplain. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas J. Chew, Purser. Returned to Boston per Henry.
Matthew Rogers, Gunner.
George Miller, Carpenter.
Wm. Thompson, Sailmaker.
Josiah Rainsford, Steward. Returned to Boston per Henry.
Ab'm W. Blanchard, Clerk. Returned to Boston per Henry.
Jefferson Griffith, Quartermaster. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Nicholas Johnson, Quartermaster.
James A. Lewis, Quartermaster. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Samuel Gale, Quartermaster.
Thomas Jackson, 2nd, Quartermaster. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Francis Williams, 2nd, Quartermaster.
George Gifford, Quartermaster.
Thomas Smallpence, Master's Mate.
Esaw Himan, Capt's Steward.
Salmon Goodrich, Armorer.
Joseph Wells, Gunner's Mate.
Henry Simpson, Gunner's Mate.
George North, Boatswain's Yeoman.
Hatchman Oakman, Carpenter's Yeoman.
Thomas Finigan, Gunner's Yeoman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Joseph Witcher, Carpenter's Mate.
Michael Grace, Carpenter's Mate.
Joseph Russell, Boatswain's Mate.
Nathaniel Coles, Boatswain's Mate.
Martin Mathley, Quarter Gunner.

Thomas Smith, 2nd, Quarter Gunner.
John Vezy, Quarter Gunner. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Jonathan Walker, Quarter Gunner. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Giles, alias Gerald, Quarter Gunner. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
William Parker, Quarter Gunner. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas Kouse, Quarter Gunner. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Stephen Haynes, Quarter Gunner.
Samuel Hatton, Sailmaker's Mate.
Benjamin Landers, Cooper.
John Dix, Surgeon's Mate.
William Swift, Surgeon's Mate. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Nicholas Fountain, Master-at-Arms.
Thomas Burseil, Seaman.
Benjamin Gold, Seaman.
Willuma Martin, Seaman.
John Williams, Seaman.
Joseph Stevens, Seaman.
William Thompson, 2nd, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Appleton, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
George Williams, Seaman.
Christian Carlsen, Seaman.
Peter Labroder, Seaman.
Peter John, Seaman.
Haffiel White, Seaman.
George Fernandez, Seaman.
William Day, Seaman.
Thomas Lindley, Seaman.
John Smith, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Samuel Hays, Seaman.
Henry Smith, Seaman.
John Hill, Seaman.
Jonathan Shaw, Seaman.
John Wood, Seaman.

Robert Holmes, Seaman.
Charles Wilford, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Andrew Sampson, Seaman.
Peter Benyman, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Christidan Nelson, Seaman.
Robert Perkins, Seaman.
Lambert Flowers, Seaman.
Thomas Turner, Seaman.
Thomas Flanagan, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Peter Lingreen, Seaman.
Christian Holmes, Seaman.
Henry White, Seaman.
Magnus Sparing, Seaman.
Andrew Mercer, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Medley, Seaman.
Paul Limer, Seaman.
John Tallman, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Joseph Gale, Seaman.
James Parker, Seaman.
Martin Anderson, Seaman.
Andrew Vardermear, Seaman.
Thomas Arthur, Seaman.
Thomas Barret, Seaman.
Joseph Wright, Seaman.
Rola Peters, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Joseph Calhoun, Seaman.
Samuel Ratcliffe, Seaman.
Stephen June, Seaman.
Robert May, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas Gibson, Seaman.
Peter Thompson, Seaman.
John Sieve, Seaman.
Noah Dearborn, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Jacob Ellsworth, Seaman.

John Rollins, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Charles Sargent, Seaman.
Thomas Gould, Seaman.
Wm. Metcalf, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Price, 2nd, Seaman.
Murty Collins, Seaman.
William Philips, Seaman.
Eliphalet Carr, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
James Peterson, Seaman.
Charles Thompson, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
James Durfee, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Charles Eastland, Seaman.
Daniel Croxford, Seaman.
William Hubar, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
William Brown, 3rd, Seaman.
Peter Frost, Seaman.
Luke Sherburn, Seaman.
John Carlton, Seaman.
Philip Blake, Seaman.
Benjamin Trefethan, Seaman.
Benjamin Summer, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
David Abbott, Seaman.
Joseph Sanders, Seaman.
Andrew Cunningham, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Halsey Carey, Seaman.
William R. Ruse, Seaman.
William McCafferty, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Lewis Doyle, Seaman.
Luther Eldridge, Seaman.
Isaac Smith, Seaman.
Charles Goodman, Seaman.
Michael Rutherds, Seaman.
John Dezinck, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.

John Peterswing, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Nathan Leaver, Seaman.
William Peterson, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Northrup, Seaman.
William Stewart, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Elburn, Seaman.
Joseph Antonio, Seaman.
Emanuel Gaumas, Seaman.
Peter Decosta, Seaman.
Michael Tivyly, alias Tivea, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Emanuel James, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Asa Newhall, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Alexander Brown, Seaman.
James Denny, Seaman.
Charles Sherlock, Seaman.
John Johnson, 2nd, Seaman.
Israel Buckins, Seaman.
William Small, Seaman.
George Mills, Seaman.
Christian Stephens, Seaman.
Mason Reynolds, Seaman.
Charles Brunnan, Seaman.
James Alexander, Seaman.
Henry Ensign, Seaman.
Charles Westerberg, Seaman.
Thomas Taylor, Seaman.
William Lockwood, Seaman.
Kingsbury Moore, Seaman.
John Lund, Seaman.
Thomas Carpenter, Seaman.
William Jones, Seaman.
John Crutchett, Seaman.
Robert Millikin, Seaman.
Daniel Low, Seaman.

Thomas Jones, 2nd, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Caldwell, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
William Gardiner, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas Hardy, Seaman.
John Kegan, Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Joseph Allen, Ordinary Seaman.
Moses Stephens, Ordinary Seaman.
Benjamin Osgood, Ordinary Seaman.
Perry Yearman, Ordinary Seaman.
William Brown, 2nd, Ordinary Seaman.
Oliver Cromwell, Ordinary Seaman.
James Spourt, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Harvey Howard, Ordinary Seaman.
Sylvester Stacey. Ordinary Seaman.
John Orr, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Elias Beall, Ordinary Seaman.
Joseph Goodall, Ordinary Seaman.
Henry Foster, Ordinary Seaman.
Peter Quartin, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
James Butler, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
John Watson, Ordinary Seaman.
Joseph Pitcher, Ordinary Seaman.
William Thomas, Ordinary Seaman.
Green Camp, Ordinary Seaman.
Cesar Black, Ordinary Seaman.
John Johnson, Ordinary Seaman.
George Daw, Ordinary Seaman.
Levi Waterman, Ordinary Seaman.
Abijah Davis, Ordinary Seaman.
John Peterson, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
John Chappel, 1st, Ordinary Seaman.
Thomas Sterling, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.

Richard Williams, 2nd, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Monday, Ordinary Seaman.
Peter Davis, Ordinary Seaman.
Robert Spencer, Ordinary Seaman.
Henry C. Minor, Ordinary Seaman.
John Pressy, Ordinary Seaman.
Lewis Francis, Ordinary Seaman.
Christian Cook, Ordiinary Seaman.
John Demidoff, Ordinary Seaman.
William Frederick, Ordinary Seaman.
Anthony Joseph, Ordinary Seaman.
Ebenizer Lord, Ordinary Seaman.
Joseph Weyland, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Benjamin Simonds, Ordinary Seaman.
John Dale, Ordinary Seaman.
Joseph Chedman, Ordinary Seaman.
Mathew Kentner, Ordinary Seaman.
John Brown, Ordinary Seaman.
James Sperrin, Ordinary Seaman.
John Scott, Ordinary Seaman.
John Smith, Ordinary Seaman.
John Joice, Ordinary Seaman.
John Brice, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Francis Williams, Ordinary Seaman.
Andrew T. Rogers, Ordinary Seaman.
John Buck, Ordinary Seaman.
Francis Franklin, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Samuel Weber, Ordinary Seaman.
Henry Hyde, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas Leonard, Ordinary Seaman.
Alexander Grant, Ordinary Seaman.
Enoch Hackett, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Thompson, Ordinary Seaman.
Ebenezer Day, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.

James Waterman, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Stephen Ball, Ordinary Seaman.
Samuel Green, Ordinary Seaman.
Francis Paris, Ordinary Seaman.
Charles Reynolds, Ordinary Seaman.
John Douglass, Ordinary Seaman.
Joseph Vaughin, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Francis Commagee, Ordinary Seaman.
Henry Stainback, Ordinary Seaman.
Abraham Cutler, Ordinary Seaman.
Ab'm. Richardson, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Mark Ferauld, Ordinary Seaman.
Hammond Bush, Ordinary Seaman.
Aaron Jackson, Ordinary Seaman.
John Coursey, Ordinary Seaman.
Florence Crawley, Ordinary Seaman.
Joseph Pike, Ordinary Seaman.
Thomas Levinus, Ordinary Seaman.
Thomas Jones, Ordinary Seaman.
William Staples, Ordinary Seaman.
William Wainwright, Ordinary Seaman.
William Worthington, Ordinary Seaman.
Daniel Malona, Ordinary Seaman.
William Gordon, Ordinary Seaman.
Benjamin Proctor, Ordinary Seaman.
William Perry, Ordinary Seaman.
Michael Douglass, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
James Tompkins, Ordinary Seaman. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Wilson Denight, Boy. Returned to Boston per Agnes.
Philip Bertram, Boy.
John Lee, Boy.
George Cawdell, Boy.
Patrick Brooks, Boy. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John White, Boy.
John M'Neir, Boy.

Henry R. Goodwin, Boy.
Andrew Dunham, Boy.
John M'Ney, Boy.
Mathias Rogers, Boy. Returned to Boston per Henry.
Edward Parker, Boy. Returned to Boston per Henry.
William Jordon, Boy.
William Leonard, Cook.

MARINES.

John Twiss, Sergeant.
William Harris, Sergeant.
James Orault, Corporal.
Isaac Porter, Fifer.
Richard Hoffman, Private. Died on passage per Frederick Augustus from wounds received during action.
James Brown, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas Stocker, Private.
Joseph Twiss, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
George Repham, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Crupper, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Samuel Jackson, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Johnson, Private.
John Wright, Private.
Miles Morris, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Nicholas Filton, Private.
Jonathan Landers, Private.
Joseph Smith, Private.
Mathias Woobery, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Warren Fogg, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Thomas Johnson, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Creasy, Private.

Sylvester Holland, Private.
George Clyne, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Joseph Crane, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Archibald Roulstone, Private.
Patrick Dillon, Private.
William Lewis, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
Joseph Clark, Private.
James Dearin, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.
John Livre, Private.
John Brady, Private. Returned to Boston per Frederick Augustus.

THOMAS J. CHEW,
Purser.

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